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*An Historical Review*

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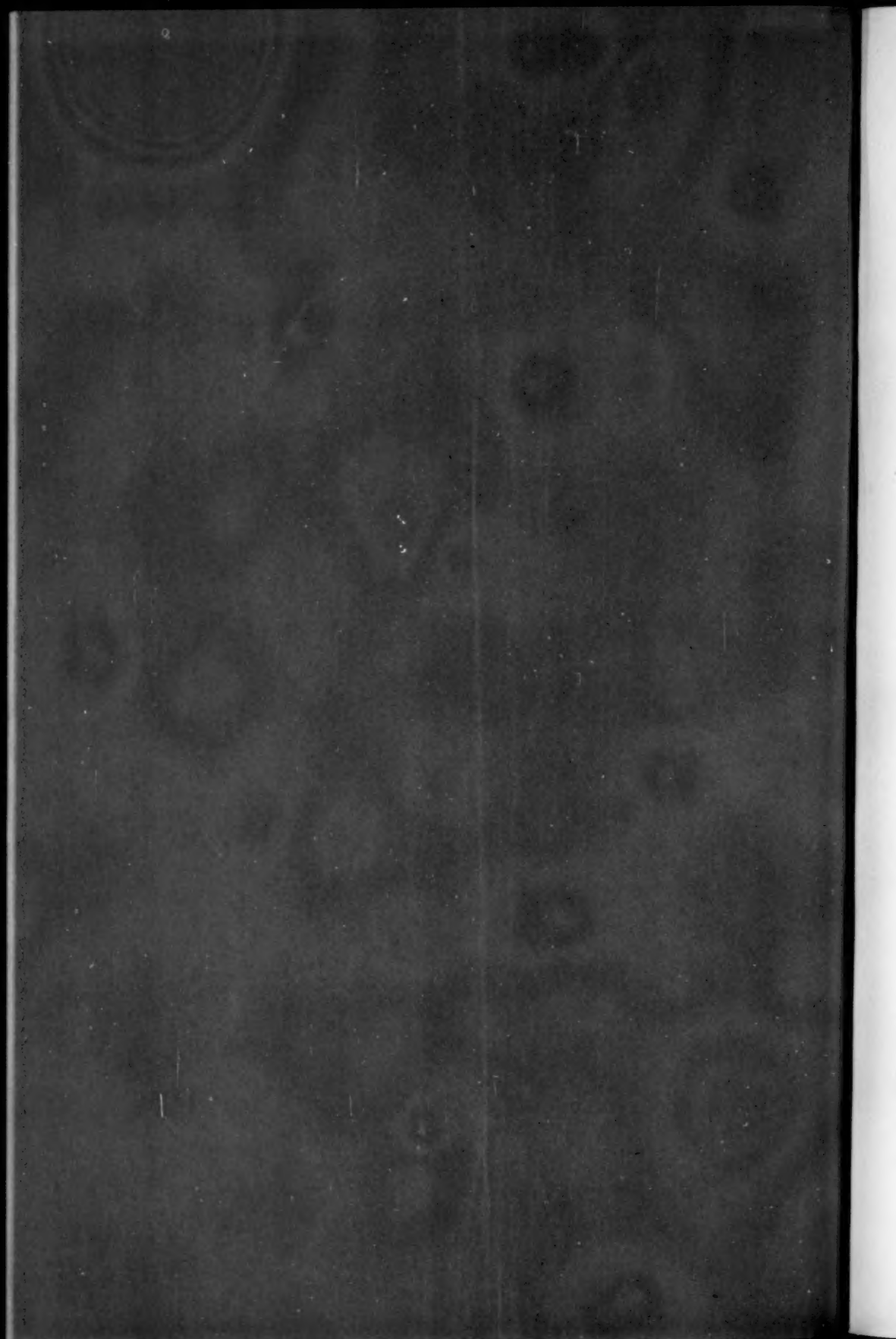
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# MID-AMERICA

## *An Historical Review*

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### The Consul in a Crisis: Lower California, 1911

For a long time the ultimate disposition of Baja California caused friction between the United States and Mexico. The United States evaluated the Territory in terms of the mouth of the Colorado River, the fine harbors of the west coast, and the natural resources potential. Mexico appraised it similarly, watching it with protective anxiety because it was a fringe area not seized by the United States through war or purchase.

The United States just missed acquiring the peninsula on several occasions. As it was partly occupied by American soldiers during the Mexican War, it might not have been too difficult to obtain it at the close of that struggle.<sup>1</sup> At the time of the Gadsden Purchase, our agent worked hard for its inclusion, and might well have succeeded had not the notorious Walker raid occurred simultaneously.<sup>2</sup> Walker's filibustering "Republic of Lower California," at least from the Mexicans' viewpoint, illustrated the length to which Americans would go in an endeavor to obtain the peninsula.<sup>3</sup> Years after this affair, minor filibustering ventures were planned.<sup>4</sup> After the turn of the century, the possibility of acquisition diminished,

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<sup>1</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of the North American States and Texas*, San Francisco, 1889, XVI, 715-719; Peter Gerhard, "Baja California in the Mexican War, 1846-1848," *Pacific Historical Review*, XIV (1945), 418-424.

<sup>2</sup> J. Fred Rippy, "Anglo-American Filibusters and the Gadsden Treaty," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V (1922), 165-180; Paul N. Garber, *The Gadsden Treaty*, Philadelphia, 1923, 91-92, 97.

<sup>3</sup> The best account of this and the later Walker exploits is William D. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers*, New York, 1916, especially 34-48.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew F. Rolle, "Futile Filibustering in California, 1888-1890," *Pacific Historical Review*, XX (1951), 159-166.

although as recently as World War II it was possible for an anachronistic Senator to revive the question.<sup>5</sup>

The last distinct opportunity for annexation vanished when the peninsula was excluded from the Gadsden Treaty. As no new Santa Ana emerged in Mexico, American convenience could not thereafter be served, and another war was patently out of the question. In fact, in 1911, when the issue became critical for the last time, the Taft administration was only too anxious to maintain a virtuous policy. "Dollar Diplomacy," especially in Nicaragua, had earned Taft and his Secretary of State, Philander Knox, an unenviable reputation in international politics. Criticized abroad, they found the home front no more sympathetic, for Taft's setback in the Congressional election of 1910 had brought the Democrats and anti-imperialistic Progressives to the fore.<sup>6</sup>

As it chanced, the Department of State became entangled with the Mexican Foreign Office over Lower California in a perfectly innocent way.<sup>7</sup> Late in 1910, Knox requested Mexico to allow American army engineers to construct dikes on the southern Colorado River to protect American property owners in California's Imperial Valley from the recurring floods. Mexico granted the request unenthusiastically after the Department of State had repeatedly affirmed its lack of designs on the peninsula.<sup>8</sup>

To the dismay of the Washington officials, Mexico's revolution of 1910-1911 broke out at this moment. Americans had come into possession of valuable property in Baja California,<sup>9</sup> creating a double problem: while our government naturally indicated its intentions of protecting American lives and property, the Díaz regime became suspicious of American protectiveness in time of civil strife. To make matters much worse, the revolution in Lower

<sup>5</sup> *Congressional Record*, 77 Congress, 2 session (1942), 1624-1625, remarks by Senator Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina, Feb. 25, 1942.

<sup>6</sup> For the Nicaraguan and other Central American ventures of the Taft administration and the congressional reaction thereto, see Dexter Perkins, *Hands Off, A History of the Monroe Doctrine*, Boston, 1941, 248-254.

<sup>7</sup> The oft-cited Magdalena Bay, Baja California dispute with Japan developed in the second half of 1911, after the episode under discussion had closed see *ibid.*, 253-254, or, for a fuller account, Thomas A. Bailey, "The Lodge Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLVIII (1933), 220-239.

<sup>8</sup> See *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1911*, Washington, 1912, 545-561, especially U. S. message, November 26, 1910, 545-546, and U. S. message, March 2, 1911, 560.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 543; Eugene K. Chamberlain, "Mexican Colonization versus American Interests in Lower California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XX (1951), 43-55, especially 44.

California took an odd turn. In contrast to the moderate Madero, the peninsular leader, Ricardo Flores Magón, was an Anarcho-Syndicalist. His project to set Mexico ablaze with the fires of social revolution dwindled into a mere spark igniting only the peninsula.<sup>10</sup> Many of his warriors crossed the American border to fight in Mexico. The nature of our neutrality legislation made difficult any concerted government effort to halt the steady dribble of volunteers.<sup>11</sup> American newspapers, noting the presence of non-Mexican volunteers fighting in Baja California, as well as the American property-holdings therein, did not fail to titillate their readers with speculation on the imminence of a filibuster.<sup>12</sup> Mexico's suspicions multiplied apace.<sup>13</sup>

In the light of these developments, the Department of State found itself in a peculiar position. In addition to Knox,<sup>14</sup> it then included Huntington Wilson as Assistant Secretary of State and J. Reuben Clark, later famous for his *Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine* anticipating abandonment of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. Anarcho-Syndicalists, they reasoned, obviously were not likely to display a reverence for private property. Thus, a Department of State effort to procure a minimum protection to American rights in the peninsula became a stringent necessity. Yet, the newly-aroused domestic and international public opinion precluded adoption of the crudely direct Rooseveltian technique of dispatching a war vessel to the danger zone. On the other hand, the opposite device, namely a resort to tactful persuasion, looked unpromising in view of Mexico's coolness in reference to the ticklish dikes project. It became Knox's job to provide the necessary protection while at the same time reassuring the touchy Díaz government of America's strictest neutrality on the issue of Baja California's future no less than on the issue of the Mexican revolution as a whole. Everything considered, the Secretary of State embarked upon

<sup>10</sup> For one account of the revolt, see Peter Gerhard, "The Socialist Invasion of Baja California, 1911," *Pacific Historical Review*, XV (1946), 294-304.

<sup>11</sup> An excellent analysis of the problem up to that time may be found in Roy E. Curtis, "The Law of Hostile Military Expeditions as Applied by the United States," *American Journal of International Law*, VIII (1914), 1-38, 224-256.

<sup>12</sup> For typical examples, see news column of *Los Angeles Examiner*, February 1, 3, March 10, 1911; *Los Angeles Herald*, February 3, 1911.

<sup>13</sup> *For. Rel.*, 1911, 412-414, messages from the Mexican ambassador, March 3, 6, 1911.

<sup>14</sup> For a general treatment of Knox's policies, see H. F. Wright, "Philander Case Knox," in Samuel F. Bemis, ed., *American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, New York, 1929, IX, 303-357.

the most moderate course of action available to him: Mexico was assured of our good will, the more plausible rumors were investigated, and the noisy California press was ignored. At the same time, Knox tried to maintain the principle of protection to American interests in Mexico, and, in the case of the Colorado dikes problem, to obtain permission for uniformed American guards to protect the construction from molestation.<sup>15</sup> The only obvious flaw lay in Knox's characteristic lack of patience which was sure to ruffle the feelings of the sensitive Mexicans.<sup>16</sup> Though the State Department's moderation deserved a favorable outcome, conditions, notably a consul's mishap, caused its policy to fail.

In this setting much responsibility devolved upon the American consul in Lower California. State Department policy then operated only slightly less elaborately than it does today.<sup>17</sup> Normally, of course, a consul's functions were limited to commercial and passport duties. In 1911 the only State Department mission in all of northern Baja California was located at Ensenada, then the capital of a thinly populated frontier territory. Inevitably, then, the isolated consul's functions took on an additional diplomatic burden. Data sent by this official was the Department's sole information directly flowing into its own specialized channels. Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson at Mexico City was a long distance from the peninsula, and in any case had largely to depend on the Mexican Foreign Office for news. Newspaper stories were of questionable reliability. Departments of War and of Justice data were available and often useful, though received after a sometimes crucial delay in transmission. Moreover, their value was limited because of their non-diplomatic approach.<sup>18</sup> Thus, conditions combined to make the Ensenada consul our quasi-ambassador to Lower California.

George B. Schmucker, a young careerist from Woodrow Wilson's

<sup>15</sup> *For. Rel.*, 1911, 397-398, 444, 558, Knox or State Department notes, January 19, February 17, April 5, 1911. Agreement on the dikes issue finally was reached with Mexico sending her own troops as protection, and construction was completed, *Ibid.*, 564-565.

<sup>16</sup> Knox's impatience with Latin American habits was duly observed by the Hispanophile Elihu Root: see Philip C. Jessup, *Elihu Root*, New York, 1938, 250-251.

<sup>17</sup> New departmental divisions and closer co-ordination between field personnel and Washington were two efforts at reform inaugurated during Knox's secretaryship, Wright, *American Secretaries of State*, IX, 325-326.

<sup>18</sup> For co-ordination of data, extra copies of information were circulated amongst the executive departments concerned. See Record Group 74, *General Records of the Department of Justice*; Record Group 98, *Records of the United States Army Commands, Department of the Army*; and Record Group 59, *General Records of the Department of State*, all on deposit at the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

birthplace,<sup>19</sup> chanced to occupy the post under discussion. At Ensenada since 1909, his previous efforts had been largely directed at trying to control the persistent problem of Chinese smuggling.<sup>20</sup> Schmucker had the defects of his virtues, for conscientiousness and application led him easily into worry and nervousness.

Flores Magón's fighters, a heterogeneous conglomeration of Mexicans, I. W. W.'s, and soldiers-of-fortune, enjoyed a fair degree of military success. They captured Mexicali and later Tijuana, occupied El Alamo, a mining village southeast of Ensenada, and repeatedly threatened the capital itself. They talked as hard as they fought, specializing in ill-assorted pronunciamientos such as demands for the communization of property or confused hints which it was possible to interpret as suggesting an independent or United States-oriented Baja California.<sup>21</sup>

Schmucker, unaware of Washington's wish to feel its way cautiously, made an overanxious start. Early in February, 1911, he telegraphed home requesting the Government to send a war vessel to Ensenada for the protection of Americans. Eager to propitiate Mexico, Knox dismissed the request as premature.<sup>22</sup>

Soon the harried Schmucker was buried in demands from all sides. The State Department, busily sparring with the Mexican Foreign Office regarding the rebels' aims, urgently requested his opinion. The young Consul's estimate, offered amidst general confusion, was not inaccurate.<sup>23</sup> Washington further ordered that he ascertain the condition of American civilian residents of the isolated mineral area of El Alamo, and see to it that American property interests were protected.<sup>24</sup> The latter suggestion was superfluous, as Schmucker was subjected to a constant verbal barrage by anguished property-holders and impatient California newspapers convinced of the Consul's failure to take a firm stand with the Mexican

<sup>19</sup> Letters of the Schmucker family to the Department of State, June 5, August 25, 1911, Record Group 59, *General Records of the Department of State*.

<sup>20</sup> Schmucker to State Department, April 10, 1911, *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> For an analysis of the revolution's objectives, see Lowell L. Blaisdell, "Was It Revolution or Filibustering?" *Pacific Historical Review*, XXIII (1954), 147-164, especially 155-160.

<sup>22</sup> Schmucker to State Department, February 2, 1911, and Knox's reply, February 8, 1911, Record Group 59, *General Records of the Department of State*. A later effort by Knox, directed to the Mexican government, also came to naught, Knox's telegram, April 29, 1911, *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Schmucker's messages to the State Department, March 8, 13, 1911, *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> State Department to Schmucker, February 8, March 17, 1911, and Schmucker's replies, March 18, April 10, *Ibid.*



authorities.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, Celso Vega, the surly governor of the territory, alternately suspected Schmucker of complicity with the revolutionists, or sought to bully him into following Vega's wishes rather than those of his own government. If the capital were attacked, Vega threatened, Schmucker would be removed forcibly from his post.<sup>26</sup>

In the critical circumstances, it was regrettable that the consul, lacking sufficient help, had to spend an inordinate amount of time handling the peculiar difficulties which would befall fellow-Americans. Lower California seemed to possess an irresistible lure for Americans of dubious character and weird occupations. Thus, Mexican officials strongly suspected stray individuals without plausible mission in the peninsula. Hence, Schmucker had to confer repeatedly with one alias Harry Dell, a splurging soldier-of-fortune who had been jailed after giving an unconvincing account of his reasons for "visiting" Tijuana in wartime.<sup>27</sup> Again, after considerable effort, the consul induced the authorities to release from custody a Mrs. Nellie Meyers, practitioner of the occult arts, who materialized in El Alamo almost simultaneously with the Magonist army; it proved difficult to convince the suspicious Vega that her visit was made not to spy or cast spells on Mexico's army, but to collect specimens of minerals indispensable for crystal gazing.<sup>28</sup>

Meantime, the rapidly unfolding events in the peninsula bid fair to confuse the State Department's aims beyond recognition. Early in May, Schmucker dispatched a panicky telegram:

"Representatives of capitalists and insurrectionists here believe me in sympathy with them. American residents believe that Lower California will be [ours] and that I know it. Governor and a few loyal citizens know a portion of the truth. Acknowledge."<sup>29</sup>

In Washington as well, there was cause for concern. In addition to the customary diplomatic bombardment from Mexico City, a sudden outburst of senatorial oratory devoted to the California

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, letters to Schmucker, March 27, April 28, 1911, *Ibid.*; for examples of newspaper criticism, see *San Diego Union*, April 11, 13, 1911, *San Diego Evening Tribune*, May 9, 1911.

<sup>26</sup> Schmucker's messages, April 7, 17, 22, 1911, Record Group 59, *General Records of the Department of State*.

<sup>27</sup> Schmucker's telegrams of March 8, and April 11, 1911, *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Schmucker's letter of April 7, 1911, *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Telegram of May 7, 1911, *Ibid.*

peninsula aggravated matters.<sup>30</sup> In the mounting tumult, the State Department's hope of keeping its position demonstrably unambiguous and of having its consul faithfully reflect that attitude, should have stood a fair chance of success, had not the hard-pressed Schmucker suffered a mental collapse at that very moment. Thus, he dispatched a series of mystifying telegrams to Washington on May day. These messages had little visible connection with earlier communications or with one another:

"Governor . . . and the highest loyal officials in Mexican Republic believe that American capitalists are responsible for insurrection in all Mexico."

"Confidential. Leader of seceded free masons in Mexico probably pro-revolutionary."

"Confidential. Church of Rome in Mexico probably bitterly pro-revolutionary. Threatened attack on Ensenada probably for effect in order to encourage military intervention. Mexican church women are not concerned."<sup>31</sup>

In the days following the consul's dispatches became increasingly incoherent:

"Confidential. I am morally certain of the allegation in my recent telegrams. Action should be taken before May fifth. Loyal Citizens are trusting you and the President of the United States to save Mexico. Telegraph line cut."

"Confidential. I am morally certain that head of institution mentioned in my May 1, 9 A.M. is primarily responsible for disturbances in Mexico, Portugal, Spain, France and Morocco. Capitalists in America and socialists of Europe and America undoubtedly mere tools. . . ."

"Confidential. . . . In Lower California conspirators had planned to hire new force to exterminate original insurgents. Residents preparing to depart for the United States excepting the Americans and others in confidence of conspirators."<sup>32</sup>

In a lucid moment, the consul requested transfer to a new post. A bewildered consular official, unaware of the sad condition of the Ensenada agent, remarked: "The first part of this—'Send my successor'—is the most sensible thing he has sent recently."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Congressional Record*, 62 Congress, 1 session (1911), 447-452. The Senate debate took place on April 20, 1911.

<sup>31</sup> Telegrams sent by Schmucker on May 1, 1911, Record Group 59, *General Records of the Department of State*.

<sup>32</sup> Schmucker's delayed telegrams of May 2, 7, 12, 1911, *Ibid*.

<sup>33</sup> Consular memorandum, May 23, 1911, *Ibid*.



Perhaps Schmucker's removal was under consideration. The difficulty was that with the telegraph line cut, with transportation facilities much slower than today, events moved more rapidly than Washington could act. Mexican suspicions and the State Department's confusion reached a climax in mid-May, after the Magonists captured Tijuana in a small but ferocious battle. The Magonist field commander, an enigmatic Welsh adventurer, Rhys Pryce, declared: "We move on Ensenada next."<sup>34</sup> Subsequently, when someone remarked in his hearing that Lower California seemed destined to fall to the United States, Pryce's reply was: "It sounds good to me."<sup>35</sup> And what reports on this or similar tingling pronouncements could the State Department glean from its emissary in Ensenada?

"To comprehend political and social conditions at the present moment, study and apply latter part of the Book of Revelation, Holy Bible."

"I have a plan that will result in bettering civilization everywhere and in preventing my own assassination. Answer."<sup>36</sup>

Poor Schmucker was relieved of his post by an acting consul and two American physicians at Ensenada. His career was in ruins. He spent several weeks at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington regaining his mental balance. His aged father, dependent on the ex-consul financially, died of shock at the news of his son's collapse. In 1917, when Schmucker appealed for reinstatement in the Consular Service, the Department of State recalled his unhappy experience of 1911 well enough for Secretary of State Lansing to reject the plea immediately as not conducive to the "... best interests of the foreign service at this time."<sup>37</sup>

Schmucker's collapse, while sad enough, had ramifications other than those affecting his diplomatic career. At the worst stage of his breakdown, the Consul developed a persecution complex. He became neurotically suspicious of his own countrymen, and reported to Governor Vega that several civilians at El Alamo were collabora-

<sup>34</sup> *Los Angeles Herald*, May 10, 1911; *Los Angeles Examiner*, May 11, 1911.

<sup>35</sup> *San Diego Union*, May 14, 1911.

<sup>36</sup> Schmucker's telegrams, May 26, 1911, Record Group 59, *General Records of the Department of State*.

<sup>37</sup> Summary of information contained in the consular files, chiefly letters from Schmucker dated 1911 and 1917, and a letter from Lansing to Schmucker, February 8, 1917, *Ibid*.

tors of the rebels. In no small part due to this, four innocent men, three of them Americans, were wantonly murdered at the mining village, June 11, 1911.<sup>38</sup>

Nor was this all. While the State Department repeatedly assured the Mexican Foreign Office that no American interests were backing the rebels,<sup>39</sup> the Consul, on the verge of insanity, kept telling the Mexican officials at Ensenada exactly the opposite. Schmucker helped Colonel Vega prepare the contents of an important letter to the Mexican Foreign Office accusing American and British land companies in Baja California of complicity with the revolutionists.<sup>40</sup>

To Washington's relief the confused Magonist movement collapsed in June amidst scenes of abortive, albeit comic, filibusterism, disintegration, and military defeat.<sup>41</sup> However, the ill-feeling engendered in the peninsula by the revived suspicion of American filibustering schemes did not subside until years later.<sup>42</sup> The baselessness of the suspicions was indeed small consolation to Washington.

Though not in any sense an anticipation of the later Good Neighbor formula, policy in the Lower California crisis in 1911 represented a departure from the Taft administration's standard Latin American policy. The State Department's desire to better its reputation had much to do with the Secretary of State's procedure. The outcome of the experiment in diplomatic forbearance was not such as to encourage the paternalistic Knox to repeat the attempt. Schmucker's misfortune, added to other unforeseeable events, brought failure to a policy which a kinder fate might have made a minor but important success.

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<sup>38</sup> Report of Consul General at Large Murphy to the State Department, November 4, 1911, explaining the causes of the recent untoward events, *Ibid.*; also, Lowell L. Blaisdell, "Death at El Alamo," to be published September, 1955, in *Branding Iron* (Los Angeles).

<sup>39</sup> For direct evidence of American non-involvement, see *Revolutions in Cuba and Mexico* (62 Congress, 2 session, Washington, 1913), 232, 377, 381-383, a report of a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

<sup>40</sup> Rómulo Velasco Ceballos, *¿Se apoderá Estados Unidos de Baja California?*, Mexico, 1920, 168-171. Schmucker hinted at his opinion in a message to the State Department, April 27, Record Group 59, *General Records of the Department of State*.

<sup>41</sup> For the most complete newspaper accounts, *San Diego Union*, throughout June, 1911.

<sup>42</sup> For an illustration of the virulence of Mexican sentiment, see Velasco Ceballos, *passim*.

## Pedro de Mercado and Mexican Jesuit Recruits

In 1571 Philip II of Spain asked the Jesuit General, St. Francis Borgia, for members of the Society of Jesus to work among the Spaniards and Indians of Mexico, as they were doing in Florida and Peru. By September 9 of the following year fifteen Jesuits—eight priests, three Jesuit students not yet ordained, and four lay brothers—had arrived at Vera Cruz, the harbor of New Spain. Among these founders of the first permanent Jesuit Province of North America was a young student of theology, Pedro de Mercado, the only American in the expedition.<sup>1</sup> He was destined to play an important part in winning the good will of his fellow Mexicans toward the Order, in founding several of the first Jesuit educational centers in New Spain, and in building that venerable institution of Mexico City, the Casa Profesa and its church. While every historian of the Mexican Jesuits mentions Mercado, little investigation has been made of his contribution and the contribution of other natives of the New World to the establishment and consolidation of the Mexican Province of the Jesuits during the years of his religious and educational apostolate from 1572 to 1619.

Manpower for schools, colleges, churches and missions was ever a problem in the colonies. From the very entrance of the Franciscans and Dominicans into Mexico there was question of the recruitment of natives for the religious and secular clergy. Whether creoles should be received into religious Orders was not so much debated

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<sup>1</sup> Juan Sánchez Baquero, S.J., *Fundación de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, edited by F. Ayuso, S.J., Mexico City, 1945, 22. Sánchez Baquero or Vaquero, was in the first expedition of Jesuits to New Spain. Ayuso has a sketch of Mercado's life, pp. 172-173; the year indicated there for Mercado's entrance into the Society of Jesus, 1574, is a mis-print for 1566. Though he was the first Mexican recruit Mercado was not the first native born American Jesuit; this honor belongs to a member of the Brazilian Province, founded in 1549. This Brazilian Jesuit has been the subject of an article by Serafim Leite, S.J., "Cipriano do Brasil, Primeiro Jesuíta, filho da América," in *Verbum*, (Rio de Janeiro), tomo 9, (December, 1952), 469-476. Father Leite has prepared another article for the same review on the first native American priest, "Diogo Fernandes, Primeiro Padre da Companhia de Jesus, nascido no Brasil." Fernandes was born in 1543 in Porto Seguro of Portuguese parents; he entered the Order in 1560 and was ordained in 1572. In this same article we find that the second American to become a Jesuit was Jerónimo Cotta, born in Guatemala in 1545; he entered in 1561, was ordained in April, 1573, at Coimbra, Portugal, and became a member of the Province of Brasil.

as the question of vocations of mestizos and Indians. The purpose of the present article is to study the contemporary documents relating to the life of Father Pedro de Mercado to see what light they can throw upon the problem of early native vocations to the Jesuit Order. This study attempts to offer as complete statistics as possible on Mexican Jesuit recruits; it does not deal directly with legislation regarding admissions, whether general, ecclesiastical, or that of the individual religious Orders.<sup>2</sup>

Pedro de Mercado was born in Mexico City in 1546.<sup>3</sup> His parents were wealthy and prominent either as first settlers or as descendants of the first conquistadores. Pedro was sent to Spain for his education. After sufficient preparation he attended first the University of Salamanca and then that of Alcalá, from which he was graduated in 1566. It was while visiting with an uncle in Seville in the Spring of that year, that he determined to become a Jesuit.

He applied to the Provincial of the Andalusian Province, Father Diego de Avellaneda, who was later to come to Mexico as official Visitor of the Province and to receive Mercado's solemn religious profession. Mercado was received into the Order in Seville on May 14, 1566, and two years later he pronounced his first vows in Cádiz. At the end of his novitiate training, he taught the classics for two years and then immediately began his four years of theology, inasmuch as he had completed three years of philosophy in Salamanca and Alcalá before entrance into the Order. Before the termination, however, of his theological studies, he was chosen by St. Francis Borgia to form part of the first expedition to Mexico. An unusual task had been assigned to this contingent of fifteen

<sup>2</sup> References to such legislation can be found in J. Specker, S.M.B., "Der einheimische Klerus in Spanisch-Amerika im 16. Jahrhundert," in the miscellany, *Der einheimische Klerus in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Schöneck-Beckenried, 1950, 73-97. The same author has taken up the subject more briefly in *Die Missionsmethode in Spanisch-Amerika im 16. Jahrhundert*, Schöneck-Beckenried, 1953, 190-194. The earliest instruction on the subject for the Mexican Province is that given by the General to the Provincial, Pedro Sánchez; this document has been published by F. Zubillaga, S.J., *Instrucción de S. Francisco de Borja al primer provincial de Nueva España* in *Studia Missionaria*, vol. III, Rome, 1947, 163. The pertinent passage reads "...aunque tenga (i.e. el dicho Provincial) facultad de admitir gente a la Compañía, sea muy retenido y circunspecto en admitir la que naciera en aquellas partes, aunque sea de Christianos viejos; y mucho más si fuese de gentiles o mestizos." The principle set down is for prudence in regard to admitting not for the utter exclusion of creoles, mestizos or Indians.

<sup>3</sup> *Mex. 4*, f. llv. Such references without further qualification are to the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu at the Jesuit headquarters in Rome. The section is given first, then the number of the codex, and finally the folio.

Jesuits; they had been commissioned to found and organize not a foreign mission but a Province the very day they landed in New Spain.

Borgia's decision to send the only Mexican Jesuit at the time in Spain, now in the second year of theology, to help found a new Province was a logical one and, as events were to prove, a wise one. The contingent would not come unknown to an unknown land. Mercado's family would help establish important contacts; his own knowledge of the ways and attitude of his countrymen would prove invaluable. After a despairingly long wait, they set sail on June 13, 1572, from Sanlúcar de Barrameda at the mouth of the Guadalquivir. Just a little less than three months later they reached the Mexican mainland, and then continued overland to the capital via Perote and Puebla.

"Hermano" Mercado, as he was designated until he became Padre at his ordination, attended the theology classes at the house of the Dominican Fathers in Mexico City.<sup>4</sup> During his spare moments he helped to obtain and put in order the first Jesuit house in the Capital. On October 24, 1573, Mercado made his religious profession of three vows in the provincial Jesuit Church in that city; the Provincial, Father Pedro Sánchez, had been deputed by the General to receive Mercado's profession.<sup>5</sup> Nor had he long to wait for ordination to the priesthood. The See of Mexico City had been vacant since shortly before the arrival of the Jesuits, due to the death of Fray Alonso de Montúfar, O.P., second Archbishop. Bishop Antonio Morales, who had recently ordained Juan de Curiel, the first Jesuit of the Mexican Province to be raised to the priesthood, in his cathedral of Pátzcuaro, passed through Mexico City later in that same year of 1573 on his way to his new See of Puebla

<sup>4</sup> Sánchez Baquero, *Fundación*, 51, does not specify Mercado, but merely speaks of "dos de los hermanos estudiantes teólogos." These two were Mercado and himself, inasmuch as of the third scholastic, Juan de Curiel, it is always stated that he had finished his studies; so, *ibid.*, 22, "acabados sus estudios."

<sup>5</sup> Zubillaga, *Instrucción*, 163, "Podrá (i. e. el dicho Provincial) admitir a la profesión de tres votos los Hermanos que lleva consigno, para que puedan ordenarse." From May 26, 1567 to February 28, 1578, by order of Pope Pius V, Jesuits had to make their religious profession before being ordained; A. Astráin, S.J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España*, Madrid, 1905, I, 321-325. Evidently, the privilege accorded anew by Pope Gregory XIII on February 28, 1573, of allowing Jesuits to be ordained before their religious profession had not reached Mexico by October 24th of that year, the day Mercado made his profession; the original formula signed by Mercado is preserved in *Hisp. l. f.* 279<sup>a</sup>-280.



and acceded to the request to ordain Pedro de Mercado and Juan Sánchez Baquero.<sup>6</sup>

Through the generous assistance of Alonso de Villaseca, the Mexico City foundation was for the time assured.<sup>7</sup> More important, however, than the physical plant of churches and schools, which in the beginning were not merely poor but almost primitive, was the recruitment of sufficient candidates into the Order from the first years. Only thus could the future of the Mexican Province of Jesuits be assured; it was now accepted as a part of the way of life of the New World. At the very time that utter failure had blighted the Jesuit venture in Florida, two lay brothers, Juan Salcedo and Pedro Ruiz de Salvatierra, had entered the Order in Havana in 1568 and 1570 respectively and had come on to Mexico City to pronounce their vows in 1572.<sup>8</sup> The following year, three priests, five scholastic students and five lay brothers were received into the Society in Mexico City.<sup>9</sup>

Mercado was to be summoned back to the Capital when the opportune moment arrived for extending the means of ministry there, but first he with Father Juan Sánchez Baquero had to assure the permanence of the Jesuit foundation in Pátzcuaro, Michoacán.<sup>10</sup> Here the two priests preached and opened schools for both Spaniards and Tarascan Indians. As plans were being discussed for the

<sup>6</sup> Sánchez Baquero, 65. A. Pérez de Rivas, who came to know Mercado about 1602, gives a far more complete account of his ordination in his *Corónica y historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, bk. I, ch. 19. Quoted in this article is the Library of Congress manuscript, for a study of which see J. V. Jacobsen, "The Chronicle of Pérez de Ribas," *MID-AMERICA*, IX, 81-95. The greater part of the *Corónica* was published, but unfortunately from a less complete manuscript; it appeared in Mexico City in two volumes in 1896. Whenever possible, the printed edition will be cited.

<sup>7</sup> Astráin, III, 124 sq.

<sup>8</sup> For the Florida venture, see *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, edited by F. Zubillaga, S.J., Rome, 1946. The Mexican catalogues, *Mex.* 4, f. 4-4v, furnish this information about both lay brothers; the 1573 report sent to Rome, *Hist. Soc.* 41, f. 243-243v, does not list Ruiz in the Mexican Province; that of 1576 does; *Mex.* 4, f. 4. If he really pronounced his vows in Mexico City in 1572, he must have returned to Havana before the 1573 catalogue was compiled.

<sup>9</sup> *Mex.* 4, ff. 3-5.

<sup>10</sup> The greater part of the account of Mercado is based on letters of the Jesuit Generals Mercurian and Acquaviva to Mercado and other Jesuits in Mexico; of these messages twenty are addressed to Mercado. His own letters do not seem to have been preserved; those of the Generals are contemporary copies found in two volumes designated *Mex.* 1 and *Mex.* 2. Another helpful source has been a lengthy report of one who accompanied Mercado in some of his apostolic expeditions, Brother Juan de la Carrera. The original of his *Relación* is preserved in *Mex.* 16, ff. 179-187.

transference of Pátzcuaro to Valladolid (the present Morelia), no special effort was made at this time to enlarge the schools.<sup>11</sup>

From Pátzcuaro Mercado went to Oaxaca to help consolidate the small beginning made there. Misunderstanding any envy had plagued that difficult mission from the start. His own health gave way under the strain of the arduous work and unpleasant conflict and, in a moment of dispondency, he begged the Jesuit General to be allowed to return to Spain, where he had spent so many happy years as a student. When it was decided to go ahead with the consolidation of the Pátzcuaro foundation, Mercado was summoned back to that city. The General wrote him on March 24, 1584, to acknowledge his favorable report of the good accomplished there.

Before the end of 1585 he returned to Mexico City to help out for a short period with the ministry in the Jesuit church there. The next scene of his apostolate is Zacatecas, which opened the route to the Jesuits' effort of nearly two centuries to bring the wild tribes of the north and especially northwest into the pale of civilization and of the faith. Here, again, we find Mercado in the vanguard. His work took him among the neglected Indians. To establish an effective center of Jesuit ministry in Zacatecas, Mercado had endeavored to build a residence and a church, with the hope that a school here as in all other cities of New Spain would follow. Information, however, sent to Rome had counselled delay in such efforts in order wisely to prevent over-extension of available manpower.

Even before this decision had been made known to him, he had returned to Mexico City, where he pronounced on January 19, 1592, in the Jesuit College Church and in the presence of Father Diego de Avellaneda the four solemn vows of a Professed.<sup>12</sup> When the favorable turn of events that same year made it possible to extend Jesuit ministry in the city of Oaxaca and the nearby Indian mission with its school, he hastened back to that important center. During all these years he had been sending numerous pleas to Rome for more workers, and had been insisting that more attention be given to Indian ministry.

By 1594, at the latest, Mercado was back in Mexico City, this time at the Casa Profesa, where he was to spend the twenty-five remaining years of his life. Here his principal work was to build a

<sup>11</sup> The first Jesuit Provincial Congregation, held in 1577, reported that there were fifty pupils in the Pátzcuaro establishment; *Congr.* 42, 305.

<sup>12</sup> The autographed formula is preserved in *Hisp.* 2, f. 381-381v.



worthy center of Jesuit ministry in the Capital of New Spain—the church and residence of the Profesa. They were erected on the very site where once stood the house in which Mercado had been born.<sup>13</sup> Almost certainly the property was given to the Order by his parents, if they were still living, or by close relatives. Hernán Muñoz de Obregón, a relative of Mercado, left the first sum of money for the building of this new center. Two prominent citizens, Juan Luis de Rivera, royal treasurer and city alderman, and his wife, now came forward to become its generous founders.

Mercado devoted all his time and attention to the construction of the church and later of the residence. With the help especially of the devoted Indians, he brought stone, timber and other building supplies from the mountains. When funds ran low, he turned tireless beggar. At the end of June of 1610, word reached Mexico City of the recent beatification of the founder of the Jesuits. It was decided to celebrate that same year this event along with the dedication of the church, on the feast of the new Blessed, Ignatius Loyola, July 31. But Mercado's work was not to end with the dedication of the church; he continued to improve and beautify it, and to work on the erection of the residence to the eve of his death, October 15, 1619.

This is in brief outline the story of the building of the Profesa as found in the numerous contemporary documents still extant. But to judge from the replies of the Jesuit Generals' letters, the main theme of Mercado's messages was the importance of not neglecting the Indian ministry. Each General in answering kept assuring Mercado that he should insist that special attention be given to this apostolate when writing the Visitor, Provincial, and other superiors in a position to further it effectively. The emphasis given at this time by the Mexican Province to this ministry owes much to Mercado's tireless insistence.

Such ministry among the Indians was two-fold: in the cities, and in the distant missions on the northern frontier, or to use the terminology of the time, among the Christian Indians and among the infidel or pagan Indians. Let us see what was accomplished among the two groups during the life-time of Mercado; we shall not try

<sup>13</sup> Pérez de Rivas, *Corónica*; nearly the entire "Libro quinto" deals with the Casa Profesa; he comes to speak of it again when he gives an account of the life of Mercado in ch. 19th of the same "Libro." The present beautiful Church of the Profesa was not erected by Mercado, but goes back only to 1720; G. Decorme, S.J., *La obra de los Jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial*, Mexico City, 1941, I, 113.

to list the countless missions preached throughout the land, but rather see what centers of apostolate were established.

The first church which the Jesuits opened upon their arrival in Mexico City was known as the *Jacalteopán* or adobe hut church, built for them by the Indian chieftain, Cortés of the town of Tacubaya.<sup>14</sup> We have already mentioned the Indian ministry of Pátzcuaro in Michoacán to the west, Oaxaca to the south, and of Zacatecas to the north. In Valladolid in Michoacán, the Jesuits conducted an Indian school and opened a language school for diocesan priests destined to work among the Tarascans. A more important language school opened for Jesuits in 1579 at the urging of the Viceroy Enríquez in Huitzquiluca, near Mexico City; at the same time sacred ministry was carried on among the Otomí Indians of this area. However, before a year had gone by, the Jesuits transferred their language school to what was to become the most important civilized Indian center of the Jesuit Mexican Province and shortly later its main Novitiate, Tepotzotlán, likewise near Mexico City.<sup>15</sup> In 1581 the Philippines with a large native population was added to the growing list of areas to be taken care of by the Mexican Province.

Already the first Jesuit Provincial Congregation held in Mexico City in 1577 had recommended the establishment of special chapels and schools for the Indians.<sup>16</sup> Thus, Tepotzotlán soon had its San Martín School; Puebla, its San Miguel; and Mexico City, its San Gregorio. The story of these Indian centers and their long and fruitful ministry may be found in any history of the Mexican Jesuits. What is not so well known is the insistence of the first Jesuit Provincial Congregation that native Indians be ordained in order to help with the ministry among their own people.<sup>17</sup>

As we have seen, it was not merely in the cities and larger towns that the Mexican Jesuits devoted themselves to sacred ministry among the Indians. In the boundless regions of the north slowly opening up to the advancing Spaniards, they began to establish a chain of missions that would culminate nearly two centuries later in the spiritual conquest of Lower California and southern Arizona. During Mercado's lifetime, such important mission centers were

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 6. Francisco Florentia, *Historia de la Provincia de Nueva España*, Mexico City, 1694, 132, says that he was the Cacique of Tacuba.

<sup>15</sup> Sánchez Baquero, 151; the "Esquiluca" there is for Huitzquiluca.

<sup>16</sup> *Congr.* 42, f. 309v-310v.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 309v-310. The Fathers congregated insisted that Indians, given the proper intellectual and moral formation, "no ay que dubdar sino que se podrían ordenar y ser muy aptos ministros... y haría uno dellos más que ciento de nosotros."

established as San Luis de la Paz (1589) and Parras (1598); the first entry into Sinaloa goes back to 1591, that among the Tepehuanes so fruitful in martyrs was made in 1596, and that among the Acaxeas and Xiximies already in 1592. Southern or lower Tarahumara became mission territory in 1607.

Ministry among the Spaniards and mestizos grew even more rapidly, for the need was no less pressing. Further, it was wisely realized that schools must be established for the education of youth not only to develop an educated laity and be a source of capable candidates, but also to have bases of operation from which to carry on the mission work. In 1619, the year of Mercado's death, the Mexican Province had established churches (with adjoining residences) and schools in the following cities: Mexico City (three schools and one church), Puebla (two schools and one church), Oaxaca, Guadalajara, Valladolid (Morelia), Pátzcuaro, Tepotzotlán (Novitiate and Indian school), Guatemala, Guadiana (Durango), Sinaloa; churches with adjoining residence but no school in Veracruz and San Luis de la Paz; missions in Parras, Topia, San Andrés and among the Tepehuanes, as detailed more fully above. The mission in the Philippines had been established from Mexico and developed into an independent Province, although Jesuits born in Mexico continued to work there.

Let us now study the growth of the Jesuit Mexican Province as evidenced by the increase in native vocations. We call native vocations those whose birthplace was the territory ministered to by the Mexican Province, that is, almost co-terminous with the regions called New Spain. Accordingly, Santo Domingo, Cuba and Guatemala are listed under Mexico. The early catalogues (1571, 1573, 1576 and 1580) do not indicate the birthplace of the members of the Province, but rather the place where they entered the Order. Subsequent catalogues do not give the place of entrance but, with few exceptions, the birthplace of the candidates or members of the Order. The comparatively rare exceptions are almost exclusively of those making up an expedition on its way from Europe at the time of the compilation of the catalogues. I have tried by consulting numerous other contemporary documents and especially subsequent catalogues to fill in the lacunae; thus, it has been possible to establish the native country of all except eight. It is well nigh impossible, except in a few rare cases, to determine the racial origin of the candidates; such data even when found has been omitted from the present study.

The number of native vocations rose from one in 1572, when Mercado came to Mexico, to one hundred and twenty-one in 1619, the year of his death. For these years we have the official record of two hundred and thirty-five native born Mexicans who joined the Jesuits in New Spain. The statistics of other countries are given by way of comparison. It may be of interest to learn about the numerous countries from which men came to join the Mexican Jesuits as this early date, a fact which to date has remained unnoticed. Within the relatively brief period we are studying, there worked in Mexico according to the extant catalogues, thirty-seven from Italy, seventeen from Portugal, seven from France, five from the Low Countries, two from the Nuevo Reino de Granada (Colombia), two from Denmark, and one each from England, Ireland, island of Chios, Portuguese Africa, Germany and the Philippines.<sup>18</sup> The numerous Jesuits who worked in Mexico enroute to the Philippines are not considered in this study.

The 1571 catalogue is an unsigned list of fourteen Jesuits who had been chosen in that year by St. Francis Borgia to set out for Mexico.<sup>19</sup> Mercado's name is not on this early list. The official catalogue drawn up of the entire Society of Jesus for 1574 contains a list of sixteen Jesuits working in Mexico; but it really goes back to February of 1573, when it was compiled and sent to Rome but not incorporated until the following year.<sup>20</sup>

According to the first detailed extant catalogue of the Mexican Province, that of 1576, five priests, five scholastics and twelve lay brothers had joined the Jesuits since their arrival in New Spain.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Mex. 4*, ff. 1-260v; the catalogues and reports found here are the main source for the rest of this study.

<sup>19</sup> *Mex. 4*, f. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Hist. Soc. 41*, f. 243-243v; the account of Mercado is entered on this latter folio, "Hermano Pedro de Mercado, de 28 años, seis años de Compañía, scholar, dos cursos de theología, estudiante, es ábil, aunque achacoso de salud. . . ." Of the fifteen Jesuits who had come to Mexico in 1572, Father Francisco Bazán had died before the year was out (Juan Sánchez, *Fundación* 46-47), and Father Juan Rogel had returned to Havana. The three new comers according to the 1573 list are: Father Antonio Sedeño of Florida fame, and the two lay brothers, Martín González and Juan Salcedo, the latter received, as we have seen, in Havana.

<sup>21</sup> Of these the most eminent was Father Juan Tobar, apostle of the Indians and writer in their language, to whom the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta was deeply indebted for his knowledge of Mexican antiquities. Much has been written about the incompetency of Father Bartolomé Saldaña, one of the five priests who entered at this time (Juan Sánchez, *Fundación* 58); what Sánchez there states is certainly correct, but Father F. J. Alegre, S.J., in his *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, vol. I, Mexico City, 1841, 72-73, 153, in taking over the account from Sánchez, went a step further and concluded first that Saldaña's ineptitude



This does not include the two lay brothers who, as has been pointed out, joined the Order in Havana. In addition, two non-Spaniards had joined the Mexican Province. The first was Fernão Gomes, born in Arzila in Africa in 1542 of Portuguese parents at a time when the city was still a Portuguese possession.<sup>22</sup> Gomes entered the Jesuit Mexican Province already a priest on October 23, 1574. He became most proficient in several Indian languages and wrote an Otomí grammar. The second was the Italian Father Vincenzo Lenoce (often Hispanized to Vicente Lanochi), who had entered the order in Messina and had come in 1574 to Mexico, but returned to Europe in 1579.

In 1579 a list was drawn up of fifteen Spanish Jesuits who made up the expedition that set out on May 29th of that year for Mexico. The 1580 catalogue shows that of the 101 members who constituted the Province of Mexico, fifty-one entered the Order in Mexico, forty-three in Spain, three in Italy, and three in Havana.

Beginning with the 1585 catalogue, all will henceforth indicate the native land of the entrants rather than the place of entrance. Naturally very many entering the Order in Mexico had been born in Spain; from available documents there is no way of learning when they came to Mexico, except in an extremely few instances. Out of the 144 Jesuits in Mexico in 1585, thirty-seven were born in New Spain, four in Italy, one in Portuguese Africa, and the remaining 102 in Spain.

By 1592, the total number had risen to 216; of these sixty-one were born in New Spain, eight in Italy, three in Portugal, one in Portuguese Africa, and one in Peru; the native country of three can not be determined with certainty. The remaining 139 were native Spaniards.<sup>23</sup> A contingent of thirty-eight left Sanlúcar de Barrameda on July 20, 1594, in order to come to the assistance of the rapidly expanding Mexican Province and Vice-Province of the

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was due to the low standards of formation for the clergy in Mexico, and secondly that this was typical of the time. Alegre was unaware that Saldaña received his seminary education in Spain and was ordained there, not in Mexico; *Mex. 4, f. 4v.*

<sup>22</sup> *Mex. 4, ff. 3v, 149.* As Arzila did not pass out of the hands of the Portuguese until May 11, 1550, it follows that at the time of his birth, Gomes was a Portuguese subject; Fortunato de Almeida, *História de Portugal*, tomo II, Coimbra, 1923, 340. But since the city of Arzila was no longer in Portuguese possession at the time of his entrance, I did not include him among the forty-six Portuguese Jesuits who worked in the Mexican Province during the colonial period, "Jesuítas portugueses na Nova Espanha" in *Brotéria*, vol. 47 (Lisbon, 1953), 547-564.

<sup>23</sup> *Mex 4, ff. 46-58.*

Philippines, which now had forty members. This large influx raised the number of Spaniards in the Mexican Province to 162 in 1595, according to the catalogue of that year. The number of native Mexicans is sixty-two, not counting the five who have set sail for the Philippines. There are in New Spain alone ten from Italy, four from Portugal and one each from Portuguese Africa, France, Denmark and Belgium (Ghent).<sup>24</sup>

The 1600 catalogue shows a considerable rise in the number of native Jesuits; they now number seventy-four in New Spain and five in the Philippines, out of a total of 267 and forty-seven respectively. There are 175 native Spaniards, a relatively small increase since the last catalogue. There are six native Portuguese working in the Province and as many Italians; there is one each from Belgium, the Philippines, Peru, Portuguese Africa, France, and Denmark.<sup>25</sup>

In 1604 there were 290 Jesuits in New Spain and forty-six in the Philippines, of whom eighty-four in the first and five in the second were born in New Spain. Of the remaining Jesuits working in the Mexican Province, 185 were Spaniards, nine were Italians, seven were Portuguese, and one each was from Portuguese Africa, Belgium, France, Germany and Denmark.<sup>26</sup>

The 1607 catalogue shows a sharp decline in the personnel of the Mexican Province.<sup>27</sup> There were at that time only 265 in all, twenty-five fewer than in 1604. Of the total number, 169 are native Spaniards, sixty-six are born in Mexico. Of the rather large number whose native country is not indicated in this catalogue, it has been possible to determine such with the help of subsequent catalogues and other documents, except for three whose names do not appear elsewhere. Of the remaining twenty-seven, Italy is the home country of twelve, Portugal of nine, France of two; one

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 68-83v; the list of those making up the expedition is found in ff. 63-64v.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 105-128; in the "Catálogo de los 23 subgetos que llevó a Mexico el Padre Pedro Díaz en la flota de el año de 1599 que salió de Cádiz a 18 junio," (*ibid.*, ff. 103-104v), there is one Portuguese lay brother, and "Hermano Martín, Chino," of whom we have spoken in note 18.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 143-165v; the German brother, Joannes Martínez (f. 155v, for Martin?), was born in Hamburg, and entered the Jesuit Order in Mexico in 1602. He is the first German Jesuit that I find recorded in the Americas; cf. A. Huonder, S.J., *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg, 1899, 11, "...der Hamburger P. Joh. Hermes ist der einzige deutsche Jesuit, den wir vor 1616 in den Missionen nachweisen können."

<sup>27</sup> *Mex. 4*, ff. 168-185.

each comes from Germany, Denmark, Portuguese Africa, and the Netherlands (Groningen).

The next extant catalogue is that of 1614. These seven years show a remarkable growth for the rapidly expanding Province, which now numbers 326, an increase of sixty-one. For the first time, the native vocations soar above the hundred mark—the exact number is 104. Further, 191 are native Spaniards (although very many had entered the Order in Mexico), eleven are from Italy, ten from Portugal, four from France, and one each from Ireland, England, the island of Chios, Germany, the Netherlands, and the *Neuvo Reino de Granada* (Colombia).<sup>28</sup>

According to the next extant catalogue, that of 1620, a no less satisfactory rise in the number of Jesuits working in the Mexican Province is to be noted. As we are here concerned with the statistics only until 1619, the year of Mercado's death, we shall disregard those entries subsequent to that year. In 1619, there were in the entire Province 348; of these 121 are native born, as compared with 185 Spaniards, eighteen Italians, eleven Portuguese, four French, four Belgians, and one each from the Netherlands, the island of Chios, Germany, the *Nuevo Reino de Granada*, and Ireland.<sup>29</sup>

These statistics would seem to present quite a different picture from what one would form from the official legislation of the period and the instructions sent by European religious superiors. Yet these catalogues formed part of the official reports sent to Rome by the Provincials of the Mexican Province, hence there was no secret about the number of native vocations admitted to the Jesuit Order in Mexico. That such a large number—two hundred and thirty-five, it will be recalled—could claim New Spain as their native land, not only shows that the Jesuit Mexican Province had "taken root," but that a very liberal policy had been followed in the admission of native vocations, and that such proved capable and satisfactory members of the Order.<sup>30</sup>

Native Spaniards constituted a majority in the Mexican Province until about the mid-seventeenth century, but the rapid expansion

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 187–205. The Irish Jesuit is Father Michael Wadding (Godínez in Spanish); cf. E. J. Burrus, S.J., "Michael Wadding, Mystic and Missionary (1586–1644)," in *The Month*, vol. 197 (June, 1954), 339–353. The English Jesuit was Brother "Juan Caro, de Blemua en Inglaterra."

<sup>29</sup> *Mex. 4*, ff. 239–260.

<sup>30</sup> *Congr. 42*, f. 308, "...hasta agora la Congregación siente bien de los novicios," were the words already of the 1577 Provincial Congregation.



both in the interior of the country through the establishment of churches and schools, as well as along the relatively unorganized frontier through the founding of mission centers for the Indians, was possible only because of the numerous native vocations. Finally, the official records show a larger number of Jesuits from non-Spanish countries than had hitherto been noted.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> The only attempt at cataloguing all foreigners in the Spanish overseas dominions is L. de Aspurz, O.F.M., *La aportación extranjera a las misiones españolas*, Madrid, 1946. Father Aspurz had listed for this period in New Spain sixteen foreigners, but of these one was born in Spain, namely Bernabé Jordano.

## Philippine Linguistics and Spanish Missionaries, 1565-1700

When the six Augustinian friars arrived in Cebu on February 13, 1565, with the *Adelantado* Miguel López de Legazpi, they were able to draw upon a vast storehouse of missionary experience acquired in North and in South America. The friars had learned the necessity of preaching the Gospel to the natives in their own tongues. Only thus could the message of Christianity reach the Indians' hearts. The natives were to be asked to repudiate their pagan cults but not their mother tongues. In 1582 the Ecclesiastical Junta extended this axiom of Spanish missionary procedure to the Philippines.<sup>1</sup>

The salient characteristic of the linguistic landscape of the Philippines has been diversity. On the island of Luzon alone there were six major languages, many minor ones and a host of dialects. A list of *encomiendas* and tributes compiled in 1591 reveals the distribution of the major linguistic groups on Luzon in round numbers. The Tagalog speaking peoples were 124,000, the Ilocano 75,000, the Vicol 77,000, the Pagasinan (only partly reduced at the time) 24,000, the Pampanga 75,000, and Ibanag (Cagayan) 96,000.<sup>2</sup> The largest single linguistic group was the Bisayan which occupied the central islands of the archipelago. There were and are, at least, three principal dialects of that language. All of the Philippine tongues go back to a common root the generic East Indian speech, which is popularly known as Malay. In many cases this linguistic diversity molded the character and shaped the direction of the whole missionary enterprise.<sup>3</sup>

This fact directly influenced the composition of the missionary expeditions that were periodically dispatched from Spain. Experience taught the religious superiors that men between the ages twenty-five and thirty were more apt at acquiring fluency in foreign lan-

<sup>1</sup> Juan de la Concepción, *Historia general de Philipinas*, 14 vols., Manila, 1788-1792, II, 54.

<sup>2</sup> Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803*, 53 vols., Cleveland, 1903-1907, VIII, 96-141.

<sup>3</sup> For a brief summary of the linguistic situation see A. L. Kroeber, *The Peoples of the Philippines*, New York, 1928, 73-80. Without committing ourselves too deeply a geographical explanation of this linguistic diversity may be suggested. Most of the Islands are divided into two distinct regions by central mountain ranges.

guages. Older men were often unable to learn them. Significant is the example of the first Dominican mission to the Philippines which consisted mostly of elderly friars of outstanding spiritual qualities. The aim was to set a lofty example of monastic virtue to the natives and thus to arouse their respect for the new religion. These friars, however, turned out to be bad linguists. The Dominicans were eventually compelled to reverse their policy and to send to the islands younger men.<sup>4</sup> Alonso Sánchez stressed the necessity of dispatching men young enough to learn languages.<sup>5</sup> The Council of the Indies once pointed out to the Franciscans the risks of sending friars to the Indies who were mere youths.<sup>6</sup> If the sincerity of their religious vocation had not been sufficiently tested, in the Indies they sometimes ended up living lives that were anything but edifying. The Augustinians in the Philippines were to find out to their sorrow how a group of youths lacking a solid sense of their calling could rapidly demoralize a whole religious house or province. Not aware of the dangers involved the missionary Orders, nevertheless, continued to send younger men to the Indies, for it was generally recognized that they were apt to be more competent linguists.

Linguistic studies in the Philippines during the first decades, 1565-1593, got off to an inauspicious start. Exceptional was the case of Friar Martín de Rada who amazed the Cebuans by learning to preach fluently in Bisayan within five months of his arrival. A gifted linguist, Rada may have composed a Bisayan grammar.<sup>7</sup> He also learned to speak Chinese. The early Augustinians on the whole were not rated as outstanding linguists. In 1576 Governor Sande wrote Philip II that of the thirteen Augustinian friars who could say Mass, "I am not sure that any one of them understands the language of the natives."<sup>8</sup> There is some but not enough evi-

<sup>4</sup> Diego Aduarte, O.P., *Historia de la provincia de sancto rosario de la orden de predicadores en Philipinas, Iapón y China*, Manila, 1693, 64-65.

<sup>5</sup> Francisco Colín, S.J., *Labor evangélica*, edited by Pablo Pastells, S.J., Barcelona, 1900-1902, I, 506.

<sup>6</sup> Louis Arroyo, O.F.M., "Comisarios generales de Indias," in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, XII, no. 46 (April-June, 1952), 133. Another advantage in sending younger men was that they were more apt to adjust to the different climate more readily.

<sup>7</sup> Juan de Grijalva, O.S.A., *Crónica de la Orden... de S. Agustín en las provincias de Nueva España*, Mexico, 1624, 124. Juan de Medina, O.S.A., *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de... S. Agustín de estas islas filipinas*, published in the *Biblioteca histórica filipina*, 4 vols., Manila, IV, 53-54. Medina writes that he himself saw a manuscript copy of Rada's Bisayan Grammar in the Augustinian convent at Cebu City.

<sup>8</sup> Governor Sande to King, Manila, June 17, 1576, in Blair and Robertson, IV, 87.

dence to suggest that Friar Juan de Quiñones, another Augustinian, composed the first grammar in Tagalog.<sup>9</sup>

Linguistic studies as such did not really get under way until the Franciscan Custody's chapter meeting in 1580 when Friar Juan de Plasencia was commissioned by his superiors to write in Tagalog a grammar, a dictionary and a catechism.<sup>10</sup> In 1582 the Ecclesiastical Junta approved these texts.<sup>11</sup> On May 8, 1584, Philip II ordered that no grammar or catechism be published in the islands without the approval of the Bishop and the Audiencia.<sup>12</sup> The aim was to establish a system of supervision and thus avoid doctrinal disputes by striving for uniformity in translations.

Plasencia was a Tagalogist of renown. Born a member of the noble family of Portocarrero in Extremadura, from where many of the conquistadores and the missionaries came, Plasencia arrived in the Philippines on June 24, 1577, with the first Franciscan mission. He had the good fortune of encountering a Spanish boy, Miguel de Talavera, who had come to the Philippines with his parents in the Legazpi expedition. As a child he learned to speak Tagalog fluently. The pious legend of the missionary chroniclers is that Talavera was handed over to the care of Plasencia by his parents as a punishment for childish pranks in destroying pagan idols in the homes of his Tagalog companions. The boy's antics had so aroused the wrath of the natives that Talavera's parents feared a retaliation.<sup>13</sup> The relation between the master and the student proved fruitful. Talavera taught Plasencia the fundamentals of Tagalog and Plasencia in turn drilled Talavera in the rudiments of Latin. Talavera

<sup>9</sup> Juan de Medina, *Historia de S. Agustín*, 156.

<sup>10</sup> Francisco de Santa Inés, O.F.M., *Crónica de la provincia de San Gregorio magno de religiosos descalzos de N.S.P. San Francisco en las islas Filipinas, China, Japón...*, 2 vols., Manila, 1892, II, 211. Juan Francisco de San Antonio, O.F.M., *Crónicas de la apostólica provincia de San Gregorio de religiosos descalzos de n. s. p. S. Francisco en las islas Filipinas, China, Japón...*, 3 vols., Sampaloc, 1738-1744, I, 532. Eusebio Gómez Platero y Fernández Portillo, O.F.M., *Catálogo biográfico de los religiosos franciscanos de la provincia de S. Gregorio Magno de Filipinas desde 1577... hasta nuestros días...*, Manila, 1880, 17-18.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> The text of this cedula is in José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Manila desde sus orígenes hasta 1810*, 2 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1896 & 1904, I, p. xxviii. The letter of Bishop Salazar, which provoked the King's cedula, has disappeared. This cedula provided some evidence for Beristain de Sousa's hypothesis that the first book printed in the Philippines was a Tagalog Grammar and Dictionary written by Juan de Quiñones, O.S.A., a theory, however, that has never gained wide acceptance; see *ibid.*, p. xxvi-xxviii, and Edwin Wolf's Introductory Essay to the *Doctrina Christiana: The First Book Printed in the Philippines, Manila, 1593*, Washington, D. C., 1947, 13-15.

<sup>13</sup> Gómez Platero and Portillo, *Catálogo*, 49-50.

ultimately took the Franciscan habit. The career of Alonso de Molina in Mexico was similar to Talavera's in that Molina as a boy taught the first Franciscans Nahuatl. He eventually became a Franciscan himself.<sup>14</sup> Without the aid of Talavera it is doubtful whether Plasencia could have completed his Tagalog texts in such a short space of time.

In 1593 the first books were printed in the Philippines executed not in type but by the so-called xylographic method. The first book printed in the Philippines like the first book published in Mexico City and Lima was a *Doctrina Christiana*. Both books were bilingual texts, one in Spanish and Tagalog and the other in Chinese and Spanish. A good deal of historical detective work has been expended in the quest to determine the authorship of the anonymous Tagalog *Doctrina*. A great deal of the evidence points in the direction of Juan de Plasencia. He died in 1590 some three years before the publication of the *Doctrina*. It is reasonable to suggest that the *Doctrina* of 1593 may be the version of Plasencia's catechism which was revised by Friar Juan de Oliver between 1583 and 1586.<sup>15</sup>

In the Philippines no one disputed the desirability of retaining the Spanish words in the Tagalog text for the key concepts of the Christian doctrine. Decades before the Mexican Church decided in favor of this procedure after a spirited controversy.<sup>16</sup> The aim was not to make it easy for the natives to identify Christian ideas with certain aspects of their pagan cults. In the *Doctrina* of 1593 the following key Christian concepts were kept in Spanish: God, Trinity, Holy Ghost, Virgin Mary, the Pope, grace, sin, cross, hell, holy church, Sunday, and the names of the sacraments.

By analyzing Tagalog grammar in a systematic fashion, Plasencia, Oliver, and Talavera laid the firm linguistic foundation for the missionary enterprise. On April 27, 1594, the government of Philip II took a step which proved to be of decisive importance. The Governor and the Bishop were instructed to divide up the Philippines into contiguous areas among the four missionary Orders. In the resulting partition carried out by the authorities in Manila all the Orders were allotted parishes in the Tagalog country, the provinces

<sup>14</sup> Robert Ricard, *La "conquête spirituelle" du Mexique*, Paris, 1933, 72.

<sup>15</sup> Wolf regards the *Doctrina* of 1593 as the Talavera-Plasencia-Oliver texts. The most authoritative analysis of the first books printed in the Philippines is Wolf's Introductory Essay. Other outstanding contributions to this topic are Toribio Medina's *La Imprenta* and W. E. Retana, *La Imprenta en Filipinas: adiciones y observaciones de la Imprenta en Manila de J. T. Medina*, Madrid, 1897.

<sup>16</sup> Ricard, *La "conquête spirituelle,"* 72-75.



adjacent to Manila. The Augustinians and the Jesuits divided up the Bisayan islands between them. The Augustinians also retained many convents in Ilokos and Pampanga. The Dominicans were assigned the care of the Chinese and the provinces of Pangasinan and Cagayan. The Franciscans took charge of the Camarines. Shortly afterwards an episcopal reorganization of the Philippines complemented the territorial and ethnic partition of the islands among the Orders. In the place of one bishopric for the whole archipelago, the Pope raised Manila to the rank of a metropolitan archdiocese with three suffragan sees in Cagayan, the Camarines and Cebu.<sup>17</sup>

The outstanding practical advantage that resulted from the cedula of April 27, 1594, was that it enabled each Order to concentrate its linguistic studies in two or three or at most four languages. From the Crown's point of view there were acute disadvantages to this arrangement. A settled policy of the Crown's ecclesiastical administration had been not to allow any one religious Order to dominate a large contiguous, ethnic-territorial area.<sup>18</sup> A notable exception to this policy was the Seven Missions that the Jesuits organized in Paraguay in 1630. The Crown tolerated such a territorial concentration of power because these missions acted as an effective barrier against further Portuguese penetration from Brazil. The Crown on the whole encouraged the growth of the power of the episcopacy and the Secular clergy to offset the influence of the Regular clergy. Missionary Orders were balanced against each other. The Crown's aim was to create a situation in which its representatives could wield the balance of power. The cedula of 1594 violated this principle. Only in the Tagalog provinces were all the Orders represented. The parishes in the Diocese of the Camarines for example were virtually monopolized by the Franciscans. The Diocese of Cagayan was partitioned between the Dominicans and the Augus-

<sup>17</sup> Letter of Philip II to his Ambassador in Rome, June 17, 1595, in Blair and Robertson, IX, 150-153. For the text of the Bull see *Archivo histórico Hispano-Americano*, III, Madrid, 1915, 335-359; Thomas Ripoll, O.P., *Bullarium ordinis ff. praedicatorum*, 8 vols., Rome, 1729-1740, V, 625.

<sup>18</sup> For a clear statement of the Crown's instinctive distrust for any scheme involving the territorial partition of dioceses with one whole see being assigned to a particular Order see the letter of Viceroy Enríquez of New Spain to Philip II: May 20, 1578, in *Cartas de Indias*, Madrid, 1877, 315-322. Lic. Juan de Ovando, President of the Council of the Indies, had considered such a plan for Mexico, a project which was proposed to him by the Franciscan, Gerónimo de Mendieta; Letter of Gerónimo de Mendieta to Lic. Juan de Ovando, circa May-June, 1571, in *Cartas de religiosos de Nueva España, 1539-94*, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, editor, 2nd edition, Mexico, 1941, 104.

tinians with the former dominating the Cagayan valley and Pangasinan and the latter administering the Ilokano parishes. In discussing the problem of episcopal visitation it will be seen how the Orders' territorial concentration of power was one factor which enables the regular clergy to resist tenaciously the persistent attempts of the bishops to supervise the conduct of the friars in their capacity as parish priests. It was the linguistic diversity of the Philippines that compelled this radical departure of royal policy. In the discussions culminating in the cedula of 1594 the influence and the firsthand information provided by Alonso Sánchez and Bishop Salazar, both recent visitors at the Court of Philip II, cannot be discounted, although it is difficult to assess it precisely.<sup>19</sup>

As a consequence of the cedula of 1594 each Order was allowed to confine its linguistic studies to a few languages. The printing presses in the Philippines existed to meet the practical needs of a missionary outpost, to extend Bolton's phrase to the Orient, "on the rim of Christendom." The four printing presses were operated by the religious groups. The Dominican press was established in 1593. The Franciscan press published its first book in 1606. The Jesuit press was probably founded before 1610. The Augustinian press published only three books between 1618 and 1621. Between 1593 and 1648 as many as eighty-one books may have been published from these presses. Philippine incunabula are not distinguished for the quality of their printing. The printing was inferior to that of Spanish America, and the use of fragile rice paper helps account for the present scarcity of these volumes.

The bulk of Philippine imprints are linguistic studies—grammars (*arte*), dictionaries (*vocabulario*), catechisms, confessionals (*confesionario*) and *Doctrinas Christianas*. The *Doctrinas Christianas* and the confessionals were two characteristic and popular publications of the missionary presses. The typical *Doctrina Christiana* was a handbook of the basic beliefs of Christianity that the friars wished to teach the natives, a kind of expanded catechism. It usually contained the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, Credo, Salve Regina, the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, the Commandments of the Church, the Seven Mortal Sins, the Fourteen Works of Charity, the Confiteor and the catechism. The confessional was another

<sup>19</sup> For the text of the cedula (Aranjuez: April 27, 1594) providing for the territorial partition of the Philippines among the missionary Orders see Blair and Robertson, IX, 120-121. Colín credits his fellow-Jesuit, Alonso Sánchez with persuading the government of Philip II to adopt this policy. Colín, *Labor*, II, 8-9.



handbook to assist the priest in asking the right questions and understanding the answers in the confessional. These books were not designed primarily to be read by the Filipinos, many of whose upper classes could read. The purpose of the handbooks was to give the friars a sufficient grasp of the particular language to enable them to preach in that tongue and to administer the sacraments.

Publication statistics are revealing. Between 1593 and 1648 twenty-four Tagalog books appeared. In the same period only five books were published in Bisayan, three in Pampanga, two in Vicol, one in Ilokano and none in Ibangag. It was not until 1689 that the first book was published in Pangasinan. In the seventeenth century the Franciscans were the leaders in linguistic research. Franciscan friars published seventeen books, Augustinians twelve, Dominicans eleven and Jesuits five.<sup>20</sup>

What stands out immediately is the overwhelming emphasis placed on Tagalog studies. Twenty-four books were printed in that language, whereas only five books were published in Bisayan. There were, of course, many more Bisayan manuscripts which did circulate. The contrast is all the more startling in view of the fact that the Bisayans were the largest single ethnic group in the Spanish Philippines. The concentration in Tagalog to the neglect of the other languages can only be explained as the direct consequence of the strategic importance of Manila in the Spanish imperial scheme of things. Since all four religious bodies administered parishes in the Tagalog provinces, each Order was encouraged to make its contribution to the study of that language. On the periphery of the Tagalog area one, or at the most two Orders, tended to dominate a whole ethnic group which the result that it had to bear alone the burden of linguistic research.

The Spanish missionaries' task would have been greatly facilitated had they been able to convert one language into a *lingua franca* or an *idioma general*. To them it seemed that Tagalog was the best developed of all the native tongues and the language that could aspire to this role.<sup>21</sup> There is no evidence, however, to indicate that

<sup>20</sup> The definitive chronological list of all the books printed in the Philippines is still that of Toribio Medina. For a few items overlooked by Medina consult Angel Pérez, O.S.A., and Cecilio Güemes, O.S.A., *Adiciones y continuación de la "Imprenta en Manila de J. T. Medina,"* Manila, 1905.

<sup>21</sup> The general impression of the missionary chroniclers was that Tagalog was the best developed of all the Filipino languages. Pedro Chirino, S.J., *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, Manila, 1890, 52-55. First edition Rome, 1604. Colín *Labor Evangélica*, I, 55-59. Santa Inés, *Crónica*, 43. San Antonio, *Crónicas*, I, 144-146.

the friars were able to spread Tagalog on the same scale that the missionaries in Mexico taught many Indians to speak Nahuatl.<sup>22</sup>

Bisayan linguistic studies were to some extent the victim of Manila's over-riding importance. Also the fact that the three major dialects of the languages are mutually intelligible was undoubtedly a contributing factor in retarding Bisayan research. Before 1578, Martín de Rada probably wrote a Bisayan grammar. As of 1600 there was a Bisayan translation of a *Doctrina Christiana*. In that year the Bishop of Cebu, Pedro de Agurto, O.S.A., convoked a diocesan synod in Cebu City in which the linguistic question figured prominently. The synod appointed a committee consisting of two representatives of the Augustinians, the Jesuits, and the diocesan clergy to revise and correct the *Doctrina Christiana* which had already been translated. The synod approved the Tagalog Catechism, presumably the Catechism that was included in the published *Doctrina* of 1593. A group of Augustinian friars was commissioned to translate it into Bisayan. None of these works were ever published, nor do we know what dialect was selected. Pedro Chirino, who was present at the sessions of the synod, remarked that the dialect chosen was the "vulgate" form, which was generally used in the whole Bisayan area. The meaning of his words, however, is obscure, for the three principal dialects are not mutually intelligible.<sup>23</sup>

The first book printed in Bisayan came out in 1610. It was a translation of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine's Catechism, a book that was to enjoy widespread popularity in the Philippines, eventually being translated into Vicol, Ilokano, Tagalog and Pampanga. Cristóbal Ximénez's rendition of Bellarmine was reprinted three times between 1610 and 1732. Yet today no copy survives.<sup>24</sup> It was translated into the Samareño dialect spoken on the islands of Samar and Leyte where the Jesuits administered many parishes. Domingo Ezgverra, another Jesuit, published in 1662 a grammar in the same dialect, which was reprinted in 1746.<sup>25</sup> Juan Antonio Campion, also a Jesuit, compiled a Bisayan dictionary as well as a collection of sermons, and Francisco Encinas (1570-1633) and José Sánchez (1613-1692) left various Bisayan studies which circulated in manuscript form. The Bisayan dictionary of Mateo Sánchez (1562-1618)

<sup>22</sup> The missionaries in America spread Nahuatl in Mexico, Tupi in Brazil, Quichua in Peru and Guaraní in Argentina; Ricard, 68.

<sup>23</sup> Chirino, *Relación*, 213; Colín, *Labor Evangélica*, II, 278.

<sup>24</sup> Toribio Medina, II, 12.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, 54.

bears a Manila imprint of 1711.<sup>26</sup> In 1637 Alonso de Mentrida, an Augustinian, published a grammar and a Catechism in the Hiligaina dialect spoken on the islands of Panay and Eastern Negros.<sup>27</sup> Marcos Gavilán completed in manuscript form a Hiligaina version of the catechism and a volume of sermons.<sup>28</sup> So did Juan de Borja and Nicolás de la Cuadra (1663-1723).<sup>29</sup> It was not until 1731 that the first book in Cebuano was printed. Cebuano is spoken in Cebu, Western Leyte, parts of Negros and the northern and eastern coasts of Mindanao. In the eighteenth century linguistic research in the Bisayan dialects received something like the attention that the subject deserved. During this period the Jesuits published ten items, the Augustinians five and the Augustinian Recollects two.

The pioneer studies of Juan de Plasencia, Miguel de Talavera and Juan de Oliver foreshadowed the outstanding linguistic achievement of the Franciscan Order. Pedro de San Buenaventura, Gerónimo Monte and Alonso de Santa Ana were all Tagalogists of distinction. They compiled grammars and dictionaries. They translated catechisms and confessionals many of which were printed.<sup>30</sup>

Most books written or printed in Vicol language were done by Franciscan friars, for virtually all the parishes in that province were administered by priests of that Order. The earliest work in Vicol was a catechism translated by an Augustinian friar, Juan de Alva, who died in 1577. Juan de Oliver, an outstanding Tagalogist, was equally fluent in Vicol writing six books in that language including a *Doctrina Christiana* and a confessional.<sup>31</sup> None, however, were published. The Portuguese-born Marcos de Lisboa compiled a grammar and a dictionary and translated a Catechism into Vicol

<sup>26</sup> Robert Streit, O.M.I., *Biblioteca Missionum*, 20 vols., Munster and Aachen, 1916—, V. 334. Streit compiled the most complete list of unpublished linguistic items done by missionary priests. There is a list of Jesuit linguistic studies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 11 vols., Brussels and Paris, 1890-1932, X, 983. For Bisayan manuscripts see *ibid.*, II, 597; III, 391; VII, 527-528. Encinas wrote a dictionary and books on confession and the Eucharist; José Sánchez left a collection of sermons and a dictionary.

<sup>27</sup> Toribio Medina, I, 34.

<sup>28</sup> Streit, V, 342.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 332, 337.

<sup>30</sup> For the Franciscan publications see Toribio Medina, I, 13, 14, 26, 46, 87, 115, 241.

<sup>31</sup> For Juan de Alva's studies see Elviro Pérez, O.S.A., *Catálogo bibliográfico de los religiosos Augustinos de la provincia del santísimo nombre de Jesús de las islas filipinas desde su fundación hasta nuestros días*, Manila, 1901, 9. For Juan de Oliver's Vicol studies see Streit, IV, 365-366.

between 1602 and 1611. The dictionary was not printed until 1754.<sup>32</sup> Andrés de San Agustín published in 1647 a Vicol grammar and a translation of Bellarmine's catechism.<sup>33</sup> He also left many volumes of sermons.<sup>34</sup>

The linguistic studies of the Augustinians included the four ethnic groups to whom they administered—Tagalog, Bisayan, Pampanga and Ilokano. Francisco López (died 1631) translated into Ilokano Bellarmine's catechism, a book that went through four printings between 1621 and 1767. He also composed a dictionary and a grammar in that language. The grammar was printed in 1627 and 1793. The dictionary was not published until 1849.<sup>35</sup> Two other Augustinians wrote unpublished works in Ilokano. Pedro de la Cruz Avila, whose death occurred in 1617, wrote a grammar, a dictionary and a catechism.<sup>36</sup> Antonio Santos Mejia, Alonso Cortés and Manuel de la Cruz left various volumes of sermons.<sup>37</sup> His book on the Passion of Our Lord was not published until 1845 in Madrid.<sup>38</sup>

Diego de Ochao was the pioneer in the study of the language of Pampanga. Before his death in 1585 he wrote a grammar, a dictionary and a confessional in that language.<sup>39</sup> The outstanding student of this tongue was Francisco Coronel. In 1621 he published in Pampanga a catechism, a dictionary and a grammar. The catechism was reprinted in 1741, 1858, 1875 and 1901.<sup>40</sup> Juan de Cabello published a devotional work in 1647.<sup>41</sup> Juan de Medina, who is best known for his chronicle of the Augustinian province, wrote four volumes of unpublished sermons in Pampanga. So did Pedro García Serrano and Enrique Castro. Alvaro's Pampanga grammar was never published nor was Juan de Jérez's manuscript on the Passion of Our Lord.<sup>42</sup>

The parishioners of the Dominicans like those of the Augustinians

<sup>32</sup> Toribio Medina, I, 164.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 45.

<sup>34</sup> Pedro de la Asunción also wrote unpublished sermons in Vicol; Streit, V, 353.

<sup>35</sup> Toribio Medina, I, 25, 225.

<sup>36</sup> Pérez, *Catálogo*, 36.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 89; Streit, V, 336-337.

<sup>38</sup> The passion of Jesus was translated into many Philippine languages. It was often read aloud in a kind of lay religious service held in private homes during Lent.

<sup>39</sup> Pérez, *Catálogo*, 19.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 89. At the time of his death he was working on a Pampanga translation of Luis de Granada's *Símbolo de la fé*, one of the classics of Spanish mysticism.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 85, 90, 116, and Streit, V, 334.

spoke four different languages—Chinese, Tagalog, Ibanag and Pangasinan. Between 1593 and 1648 the Dominicans published three books in Chinese, for the large Chinese colony in the Manila area was under the care of the Dominicans. Francisco Blancas de San José, to whose initiative must be credited the establishment of the typographical printing in the Philippines, was the most eminent Tagalogist of the Dominican Order. His Tagalog grammar was first published in 1610, but it was reprinted in 1752 and 1832. Among his other publications are a confessional, an explanation of Holy Communion, and a textbook to teach Castillian to the Tagalogs.<sup>43</sup> Francisco Blancas de San José actually had no real successors among the Dominicans as a student of the Tagalog tongue.

The province of Cagayan in Northern Luzon was administered by the Dominicans. The only studies in the language of that region, Ibanag, were done by members of that Order. It is an extraordinary fact to record that no linguistic items in Ibanag were published until the nineteenth century. In the seventeenth century a few Dominicans did compile grammars and dictionaries which did circulate in manuscript form. Jacinto Pardo (died 1605) was the first to undertake a systematic analysis of the language.<sup>44</sup> His studies were continued by Gaspar Zarfate.<sup>45</sup> Another contemporary, Ambrosio Martínez de la Madre de Dios compiled a grammar and a dictionary.<sup>46</sup> So did José Bugarín whose dictionary enjoyed a somewhat belated publication in 1854.<sup>47</sup> Juan de Montoya translated the catechism into Ibanag.<sup>48</sup> Marcos Saavedra compiled an Ibanag grammar and a collection of sermons.<sup>49</sup>

Pangasinan was another language that the Dominicans studied. As early as 1595 Tomás Castellar had written in manuscript form a brief grammar and a dictionary in that language.<sup>50</sup> It was not until 1689 that Sebastián del Castillo published the first book in Pangasinan called *Gobierno Christiano*.<sup>51</sup> In 1690 a grammar was published anonymously which was printed in 1840 and 1862.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Toribio Medina, I, 7–11.

<sup>44</sup> Hilario María Ocio y Viana, O.P., *Compendio de la reseña biográfica de los religiosos de la provincia del santísimo rosario de Filipinas desde su fundación hasta nuestros días*, Manila, 1895, 56–57.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 152–153.

<sup>48</sup> Streit, V, 351.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 354.

<sup>50</sup> Ocio y Viana, *Compendio*, 23–24. Pedro de la Cruz also did a Pangasinan grammar and dictionary; Streit, V, 365.

<sup>51</sup> Toribio Medina, II, 35.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 74.



In the seventeenth century friars of the Recollect branch of the Augustinian Order, who arrived in the Philippines in 1606, did not publish any linguistic items. As the smallest Order in the islands and the last to arrive, their missions were scattered in various parts of the archipelago from the Zambal country in Luzon to the north-eastern coast of Mindanao. They apparently used the linguistic studies done by friars of the other Orders.

The regular clergy emphasized understandably enough the major languages of the Philippines. There are only a few linguistic manuscripts for the minor languages or dialects such as Zambal, or Lutuaya (Mindanao) or Ilongot. On the whole the minor tongues received scant notice, but this does not mean to imply that they were unknown.<sup>53</sup>

The years between 1593 and 1648 represent the pioneer period in linguistic studies. In the second half of the seventeenth century a general decline set in. Only eight books were published in the native languages during those years. In the eighteenth century many gaps of the first-half century were filled.

The brief outline of the linguistic activities of the missionaries with special stress on the seventeenth century leads to one conclusion. The effort was laborious, even heroic, but it was inadequate. The exception is Tagalog studies. The relatively large number of grammars, dictionaries, catechisms and confessionals suggests that the missionary linguists did begin to grasp the fundamentals of that tongue. It is difficult to make this assumption in the case of the other languages. The fact that no books were published in Ibanag is noteworthy. It seems to imply that the Dominican priests regarded their linguistic studies in Ibanag as not adequate enough to justify the expense of publication. In any case it is certain that the publication of a grammar, a dictionary and a catechism would have facilitated the missionary labors of the Dominicans in the province of Cagayan. Only the bare minimum was accomplished in Bisayan, Vicol, Pampanga, Pangasinan and Ilokano. In each one of these tongues there was usually one grammar, one dictionary, one catechism and sometimes one confessional. This represents the first step in linguistic research and nothing more. If many different grammars and catechisms were considered desirable in order to dominate Tagalog, it stands to reason that many more studies in the other languages would have given the religious Orders a more

<sup>53</sup> References to these manuscripts are in Streit, IV, 346, 364, and 352.

penetrating command of those tongues. These linguistic studies, however, were not undertaken.

The utilitarian note was always predominant. The friars did enough linguistic research in order to enable them to discharge their sacerdotal obligations. Oftentimes they fell short of their goal. So did their colleagues in Mexico where linguistic research was done on a much larger scale commensurate with the greater value and prestige attached to that colony by the Spanish authorities.<sup>54</sup> This is not to say that the regular clergy in the Philippines did not usually speak the language of their flocks with passable fluency. There are few complaints in the religious chronicles about the excessive difficulty of learning those tongues. What Philippine studies did lack, however, was an investigator of the stature of Friar Bernardino de Sahagún who managed to combine Christian zeal, disinterested scholarship and a deep curiosity to unravel the mysteries of native culture. In the Philippines the only serious pretender to this honor would be the seventeenth-century Jesuit historian of the Bisayans, Francisco Alcina, but he was an ethnologist rather than a student of linguistics.

Since the Spaniards were unable to make Tagalog into an *idioma general*, why did they not attempt to impose Castilian as the *lingua franca*? The Spanish Crown sanctioned the practice of instructing the natives in their own tongues. Bishops were under standing instructions not to assign a priest to a parish when he did not know the language spoken there by the natives.<sup>55</sup> The religious Orders, like the Jesuits, had a rule that their members learn the language of the country where they were stationed. Chairs of native languages were endowed by the government at universities and colleges throughout the Indies. After 1550 the Crown often proclaimed its desire that the natives eventually learn Castilian. The native tongues were alleged to be not sufficiently well developed to transmit the mysteries of the Faith. There was a genuine fear among the civil authorities that idolatries and superstitions would persist until the natives abandoned the languages of their pagan past. The aim was to make Spaniards out of the Indians with the natives gradually

<sup>54</sup> Ricard, *La conquête*, 70-79, has an estimate of the inadequacy of linguistic research in Mexico.

<sup>55</sup> Blair and Robertson, XX, 250-253. *Recopilación de las leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, 4 vols., Madrid, 1943, I, 45, 95-96, 132. The first edition was published in Madrid, 1681. Diego de Encinas, *Cedulario indiano*, 4 vols., Madrid, 1945, I, 98-99, 100-101; IV, 338. The first edition was published in 1596.

acquiring the social habits of the conquerors.<sup>56</sup> Not to be discounted in assessing the mentality of the civil authorities is that frame of mind best exemplified in the anecdote still popular in Spain today about the languages that Charles V spoke. The Emperor made love in Italian, conferred with diplomats in French, spoke to his dogs in English, gave orders to his horse in German and he conversed with God in Castilian.

Between 1550 and 1688 the royal policy throughout the Empire was two-fold. The natives were to be instructed in their own tongue. The resolve of those Indians who wished of their own free will to learn Castilian was vigorously encouraged. Primary schools for the natives were ordered established with Spanish as the obligatory language of instruction. It was suggested that the practice in Spain be introduced into the Indies. The sacristans in the churches were to be the schoolmasters, or schoolmasters were to be paid out of the funds of the communal treasuries, the *cajas de comunidades*.<sup>57</sup> After 1688 the Crown abandoned its voluntary policy and sought in a series of measures to compel the natives to learn Spanish.<sup>58</sup> Both methods of the Crown produced dismal results in the Philippines. At the end of the Spanish regime the American census reported that less than ten per centum of the population could speak Spanish.<sup>59</sup>

During the reign of Charles III (1759-1788) when the spirit of the French Enlightenment penetrated to the ruling circles of

<sup>56</sup> The Crown launched its hispanization program in a series of cédulas dispatched to the leading civil and ecclesiastical authorities dated at Valladolid on June 7, 1550. *Ibid.*, IV, 339-340. For later expressions of this policy see *ibid.*; *Recopilación*, I, 96. Cédulas of May 30, 1551, July 3, 1596, and August 8, 1687, in *Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General*, 431. The specific application of the hispanization decrees to the Philippines did not occur until 1596. For an articulate expression of the hostility of some civil authorities towards the continuance of the native tongues see Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política indiana*, 5 vols., Madrid and Buenos Aires, 1930, I, 396-344. First edition is 1647.

<sup>57</sup> For the King's orders to teach Castilian to the Filipinos see Philip II's Instructions to Governor Tello: Toledo, May 25, 1596, in Blair and Robertson, IX, 255-256. Letter of the Audiencia to Philip III, July 3, 1606, in the *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Filipinas*, 19. The second cédula concerning the teaching of Castilian was dispatched on July 25, 1605.

<sup>58</sup> The cédula signed in Madrid on July 20, 1686, provided that the Christian doctrine be explained to the natives in Spanish. Charles III on April 11, 1770, reversed the historic policy of the Crown when he informed the Archbishop of Mexico that parish priests in the viceroyalty (including the Philippines) did not have to know the language of their parishioners. For the next text of this cédula see Manuel Merino, O.S.A., *Misionaria hispánica*, V, (No. 14, Madrid, 1914) 289-292.

<sup>59</sup> *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1903, 3 vols., Washington, 1905, III, 583, 594, 595 and 689; Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present*, New York, 1930, 671.

Spain, there was little hesitation about where to place the blame for this outstanding failure. The regular clergy were accused of deliberately refusing to teach the Filipinos Castilian. The charge was often made that the friars sought to keep the natives isolated from the Spanish community and therefore more amenable to the supervision of the Regulars. All the accusers of the friars were motivated by longstanding grievances against the secular clergy. Behind the protests of the itinerant merchants that the friars had the natives whipped publicly for talking in Spanish is a thinly veiled restlessness at the restrictions imposed on their trading with the natives, which the friars devised ostensibly to protect their charges from being cheated by unscrupulous merchants. The Governors of the time were engaged in a titanic effort to compel friars in their capacity as parish priests to submit to the supervision of the Bishops. It was said that the Secular clergy eyed with lean and hungry glances the vast array of lucrative benefices held by the Regulars.<sup>60</sup> The conspiracy explanation of historical events usually reveals more about the vital aspirations of the accusers than it does the conduct of the accused.

It is simply an error of fact to assert that the friars deliberately opposed teaching the natives Castilian in the sixteenth or the seventeenth century. As early as 1582 the Ecclesiastical Junta sanctioned the principle that the natives should be taught Castilian.<sup>61</sup> All the missionary Orders immediately adopted the practice of setting up primary schools adjoining the parish churches. There the children of the native chieftains were taught a modicum of reading, writing and music. The language of instruction was Spanish. Juan de Plasencia, the pioneer Tagalogist, was responsible for setting up the primary school system in the Franciscan missions. The friars

<sup>60</sup> In a reply to Charles III's cedula of September 21, 1767, the Cathedral Chapter of Manila accused the friars of deliberately disobeying the King's repeated commands about teaching Spanish to the natives for "fines particulares." The Ecclesiastical Junta of 1773 denounced the Regular clergy for opposing the spread of Spanish "para gozar ellos [the Regulars] las doctrinas;" *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Filipinas*, 1001. So did the French scientist-traveler, Le Gentil, in his book *Voyages dans les mers de l'Inde*, Paris, 1781, in Blair and Robertson, XXVIII, 210-213. Governor Viana and Simón de Anda made the same charges; *ibid.*, I, 119-124 and 169-172. All these accounts share that Enlightenment bias against the Regular clergy which culminated in the dissolution of the Jesuit Order.

<sup>61</sup> "Memoria de una junta que se hizo manera de concilio el año de 1582 para dar asiento á las cosas tocantes al aumento de la fé y justificación de la conquista" in Valentín Marín y Morales, O.P., *Ensayo de una síntesis de los trabajos realizados por las corporaciones religiosas españolas de Filipinas*, 2 vols., Manila, 1901, I, 343.

recognized the desirability of training a select minority who could provide a hard-core of missionary supervised leadership in the new Christian communities. The students of these schools performed invaluable service to the missionaries in liquidating external vestiges of paganism and in acting as auxiliaries, in the preaching of the Gospel.<sup>62</sup> What the friars were unable to do was to teach Castilian to the lower classes of their parish. Given the scope of their duties and the paucity of their numbers, the Regulars scarcely had the time or the energy to operate the primary schools for the sons of the native chieftains. Friar Francisco Blancas de San José, the Dominican Tagalogist, published a textbook for Tagalogs to learn Castilian.<sup>63</sup>

The hispanizing program for the Regular clergy was launched before the Crown decided in favor of this course of action. The setting up of primary schools to be staffed by the sacristans or schoolteachers paid from the communal treasuries, as envisaged in the cédulas of May 25, 1596, and July 25, 1605, did not square with the social realities in the Philippines. Hence the cedulas proved ineffectual. The Crown recognized that the friars themselves given their other duties could not also double as schoolteachers. In the communal treasury there was usually enough money to pay for the village's annual fiesta, but there was often a lack of funds for a schoolteacher's salary.<sup>64</sup> There was a shortage of instructors who

<sup>62</sup> For these schools run by missionaries see Marcel de Ribadeneyra, O.F.M., *Historia de las islas del archipielago*, Barcelona, 1601, 54-55, 65-67; Santa Inés, *Crónica*, II, 47; San Antonio, *Crónicas*, II, 12-18; Aduarte, *Historia de predicadores*, I, 64; Juan de Medina, *Historia de provincia de S. Agustín*, 75; Colín, *Labor Evangélica*, II, 127, 137 and III, 135. For civilian opinions see the letter of Governor Tello to the King, July 12, 1599, in Blair and Robertson, X, 252-253; Dr. Antonio Morga, *Sucesos de las islas filipinas*, Madrid, 1909, 206. The first edition came out in Mexico in 1609. Morga who on occasion was a severe critic of the Regular clergy evinced a real enthusiasm for what these schools were accomplishing.

<sup>63</sup> Toribio Medina, I, 10.

<sup>64</sup> It is not at all clear how these communal treasuries actually operated in the Philippines. Like so many other institutions this one also was transported from Mexico. Each adult male was supposed to contribute to the communal treasury one-half a fanega of rice at harvest time. This accumulation of rice was supposed to provide the village with a surplus with which to relieve distress in times of famine, to pay the salaries of the school teachers and other local officials and to defray the expenses of the village's annual fiesta in honor of its patron saint. The minimum salary of a schoolteacher was twenty-four pesos and twelve cavares of rice. Hernando de los Rios Coronel, representative of the Philippine colony at the Spanish court, claimed that these funds were usually mal-administered. The Spanish civil authorities developed a habit of "borrowing" from the communal treasuries which were never paid back. Between these loans and the expenses of the annual fiesta seldom was there any surplus left in



met even the minimum standards. The natives themselves showed considerable reluctance in sending their children to these schools in villages where they did function. The children's labor services were required in the rice fields. The Spanish civil authorities made fitful and not too successful efforts to compel the natives to send their children to school. Considerable hardship was imposed on the children themselves who had to travel long distances daily to attend classes.<sup>65</sup>

The Filipinos were exposed to Castilian, but the language did not spread. Outside of the immediate vicinity of Manila and a few other towns where the Spanish and mestizo communities were concentrated, the natives seldom saw a Spaniard except the local parish priest. What the Filipinos lacked was a social incentive to learn Castilian, the kind of incentive the American regime provided them with to learn English. From the time of Admiral Dewey the Americans recognized the practical necessity of throwing open to the Filipinos most of the jobs in the civil service. English was made the *sine qua non* for obtaining these positions. The creation of an educational system with English as the obligatory language of instruction spread the new *lingua franca* rapidly. The Filipinos as a people are gifted linguists. Many of them today speak two or three languages. They would have learned Spanish as quickly as they did English, had the Spanish regime provided them with the inducement to do so that the Americans did.

Spanish might have spread, if the plantation economy had developed in the Philippines during the seventeenth century. The example of seventeenth-century Mexico is illuminating for understanding what happened in the Philippines. As a result of the rapid decline of the Indian population and the sharp absolute increase in the numbers of Europeans and castes, the cities of Mexico faced

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the treasuries at the end of the year. Hernando de los Rios Coronel, "Reforms Needed in the Philippines," (Madrid, 1620) in Blair and Robertson, XVIII, 315. Also see San Antonio, *Crónicas*, II, 18. Letter of the Audiencia to the King: July 19, 1609, in *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Filipinas*, 20.

<sup>65</sup> For a succinct explanation as to why the Crown's primary school system produced such meagre results in the Philippines see the letter of José Duque, Provincial of the Augustinians, March 21, 1689, in the *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Filipinas*, 25. This letter is also quoted in part by Merino, V, 299-300. Father Merino's article is well-documented especially from Augustinian sources and sound as far as it goes. He marshals an impressive amount of evidence to demonstrate that the Regular clergy did not oppose the spread of Spanish. What happened was that the Filipinos did not take to Castilian when exposed to that language.

starvation. Catastrophe was averted by the rise of large estates with Indian debt peonage furnishing the labor. Debt peonage implied the remorseless if gradual hispanization of the Mexican Indians, for they were thrown in contact with Spaniards and mestizos.<sup>66</sup> A plantation economy did not develop in the Philippines until the nineteenth century with the rise of sugar refining.<sup>67</sup> The gradual hispanization that might have ensued from this new industry was abruptly terminated by the liquidation of the Spanish regime.

The critics of the Regular clergy in the eighteenth century—the Governors, the secular clergy, and the merchants—credited the friars with a power they never had. Regulars could not have prevented the Filipinos from learning Spanish if certain conditions had been present, such as a social incentive for the natives to learn Spanish or the wide-spread existence of a plantation economy.

The Spanish missionary Church might have wished to simplify the complex linguistic pattern that it encountered in the Philippines, for such a development would have facilitated its own labors. The missionaries eventually recognized more realistically than the civil authorities ever did that such a task was beyond their capacity. The Regulars adjusted themselves to the fact of linguistic diversity without sacrificing their primary objective of Christianizing and Westernizing to a degree, at least, the Filipinos. Therein lies a partial explanation for their peculiarly Spanish genius in administering to primitive peoples.

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Newberry Library

<sup>66</sup> Woodrow Wilson Borah, *New Spain's Century of Depression* (Ibero-American series), Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951, 41-42.

<sup>67</sup> During the eighteenth century an exceptionally fine tobacco crop was raised in the Cagayan valley. The establishment of the government-operated tobacco monopoly in 1782 stopped any growth towards a plantation economy in the tobacco country.

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## Texas State Aid for Indigent Soldiers, 1861-1865

Historians have long noted the economic weaknesses of the confederate states as compared with those of the North. From the very beginning of the war the southern economy seemed to become increasingly stagnant. In whole areas of the Confederacy there was actually privation and an economic decline which often bore no relationship whatsoever to the proximity of the Union army. These economic deficiencies unquestionably were one of the principal reasons for the southern collapse.

At no point is this economic stagnation more apparent than in the problem of how to care for the families of soldiers.<sup>1</sup> The southern government was burdened from the start with this additional problem. In each of the states it demanded a solution, and a considerable amount of legislation and organized effort was devoted to this purpose. Although it was a problem of nation-wide magnitude, the confederate government was inclined to regard it as one entirely in the province of state concern, and at first the states were equally willing to consider it a local matter.

Charles Ramsdell pointed out that when considering how this problem was handled it was permissible to make some general observations.<sup>2</sup> At first it was regarded as a local matter, but when it grew too extensive state intervention became necessary. A second trend was to give at first monetary relief to these families, and as the currency system collapsed this was replaced by a system of relief in kind. Clothing, food, and other necessities were laboriously distributed to those in need. As home morale became more demoralized toward the end of the war, it became necessary to resort to impressments and requisitions in order to obtain the needed provisions.

A thorough study of the care of the indigent families of soldiers is necessary if we are to acquire a better understanding of the economic problems confronting the Confederacy. Many questions must be answered. How much money was actually available for this purpose, and how many people were receiving aid? How much goods

<sup>1</sup> Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Plain People of the Confederacy*, Baton Rouge, 1944. The general situation among the people of the Confederacy may be conveniently surveyed in this work.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Ramsdell, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy*, Baton Rouge, 1944, 62-68.

was distributed? What local taxes were levied to supply funds, and how successful were county agents and officials in collecting them? How many persons were diverted from other duties in order to meet the problems of collection and distribution?

In this article an attempt has been made to describe briefly the various methods instituted in Texas for the collection and distribution of goods and money for indigent families of soldiers. It is not a complete study for it does not treat with local efforts to solve the problem. The scope and administration of the system instituted by the state legislature has been examined, and an effort has been made to note similarities and differences between the Texas system and those established elsewhere.

The state legislature first took cognizance of the problem in January 1862 when it adopted a law empowering the county courts to levy a direct ad valorem tax of not more than twenty-five cents on each one hundred dollars of property then subject to taxation. This money was to be collected by the regular assessor and collector in each county, and it was to be used to relieve the destitute families of all persons enlisted in the southern armed services.<sup>3</sup>

Early in 1863 this system was broadened considerably by the passage of two new acts. The first of these appropriated \$600,000 from the state treasury to be disbursed at the discretion of the state comptroller to the county courts. The amount given to each county was based upon the scholastic returns and estimates for 1861-62. This money was to be used to provide assistance for the widows, families and dependents of men who had served in the Southern armed forces.<sup>4</sup> The second act merely broadened the system of local aid as originated in 1862. The new law provided that the county court by means of public appropriations or by private donations could acquire funds to supply the needs of soldiers' families. Special taxes not exceeding seventy-five cents on each hundred dollars of taxable property could be levied. District courts were given special power to compel county courts to act if they shirked their responsibilities of caring for these people.<sup>5</sup> By 1863 local assistance was increased and supplemented by direct aid from the state treasury. Presumably distribution was still being made on a monetary basis.

<sup>3</sup> *General Laws of the Ninth Legislature of the State of Texas*, c. xxvi, 23-25. January 1, 1862. Repealed November 15, 1864.

<sup>4</sup> *General Laws of the Ninth Legislature of the State of Texas, Extra Session*, c. xvii, 13. March 5, 1863.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, c. xl, 29-30. March 6, 1863. Repealed November 15, 1864.

In March 1863, another act was passed which introduced the principle of relief in kind. Soldiers' families were entitled to apply to the state penitentiary for cloth, but such applications had to be approved by the chief justice of the county in which the applicants resided.<sup>6</sup>

Before the end of 1863 it became necessary to amend the system again. On December 15, the legislature appropriated one million dollars per annum to support and maintain the families, widows, and dependents of soldiers serving in the armed forces of the South, if such persons were in genuine need. The method for distributing the money was changed slightly. The chief justice of each county was to make returns to the offices of the comptroller before March 1, 1864 and 1865, listing the number of needy persons in his county. The money due each county was to be distributed in semi-annual installments to the county court which was given plenary power to distribute it according to whichever method seemed best. However, the legislators made it clear that they intended the distribution to be made in terms of some kind of necessities rather than cash grants.<sup>7</sup>

The following day another act was passed which made it possible for the county courts to collect for local aid extraordinary taxes of one dollar per hundred dollars of taxable property. Again a provision was included calling for distribution of necessities rather than in cash. Such taxes could be paid either in money or in kind.<sup>8</sup>

Several changes were initiated in the system of relief by the legislature in November, 1864. The annual appropriation of one million dollars was discontinued at that time, but another form of relief was substituted. A new act provided that 600,000 yards of cloth and the excesses of thread manufactured at the state penitentiary were to

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, c. xxvi, 20. March 6, 1863.

<sup>7</sup> *General Laws of the Tenth Legislature of the State of Texas*, c. xxxiv, 21–22. This law was repealed in November 1864 but the semi-annual distributions to be made March and September 1, 1864 were made. *General Laws of the Tenth Legislature of the State of Texas, Second Extra Session*, c. xiv, 13. November 15, 1864.

<sup>8</sup> *General Laws of the Tenth Legislature of the State of Texas*, c. xliii, 28–29. This amended the act of March 6, 1863. See also: *Special Laws of the Tenth Legislature of the State of Texas*, c. xxxix, 28–29, December 16, 1863; *Special Laws of the Tenth Legislature of the State of Texas, Called Session*, c. xii, 33, May 28, 1864; *Special Laws of the Tenth Legislature of the State of Texas, Second Extra Session*, c. xxiv, 13. November 15, 1864. These last three laws provided for the collection of special taxes in Galveston, Calhoun, Refugio, San Patricio, and Nueces counties. Galveston county was also authorized to borrow additional money and could issue \$20,000 worth of bonds.



be distributed by the county courts to the indigent families of soldiers. The financial agent of the penitentiary was instructed to divide the state into six districts and to make distribution to each district chosen by lot. The chief justices of each county were to supply lists of needy persons, and it was on the basis of this list that the quantity of cloth to be distributed was to be determined. The county courts, after having received their allotted share from the agent, could dispose of it directly to the needy at their own discretion. Accurate records were to be kept of the cloth distributed together with the prices paid and the names of recipients.

The law of November, 1864, repealed the two laws of January 1, 1862, and March 6, 1863, empowering the county courts to levy special taxes for the support of indigent soldiers' families. Since the laws of December 15, 16, 1863, were also repealed at the same time, it became necessary to institute another system to provide funds to care for the needy. The county courts were now authorized to levy and have collected a tax on all proper subjects of taxation by the state as rendered in their respective counties, including license taxes and those on merchandise. These taxes were in no case to exceed state taxes levied on similar subjects. Taxpayers were to have an opportunity to make payment either in cash or kind; the court was given the right to determine the monetary value of all items of prime necessity which were receivable for taxes. This valuation was to be made every three months. No property belonging to a soldier in service (except those at home on permanent detail) was to be sold for taxes under the provisions of this act as long as he remained in service.<sup>9</sup> At the second extra session a joint resolution of November 15 provided that all wool cards then in the hands of the Military Board were to be transferred to the various counties, at their expense, for free distribution among the indigent families of soldiers. All surplus cards were then to be sold and the proceeds given to the indigent family fund.<sup>10</sup> The system devised in Texas for the relief of the destitute families of soldiers was now completed, and no further changes were made during the duration of the war.

<sup>9</sup> *General Laws of the Tenth Legislature of the State of Texas, Second Extra Session*, c. xii, 10-12. November 15, 1864. See also: *Ibid.*, c. xiii, 12-13. November 15, 1864. This amendment gave the counties ninety days to make application for the cloth; if they did not do so the surplus could be sold to the Confederate government. The acts of December 15, 16, 1863, were repealed by *Ibid.*, c. xiv, 13. November 15, 1864.

<sup>10</sup> *Special Laws of the Tenth Legislature of the State of Texas, Second Extra Session*, c. v, 16. November 16, 1864.

In Texas a system of county levies was eventually supplemented by the appropriation and distribution of \$1,600,000 of state funds. This state appropriation, however, proved to be inadequate to meet the needs of the needy families, and it was eventually replaced in favor of a distribution of cloth from the state penitentiary. The county levies were increased substantially on three different occasions, and there was a tendency to substitute a distribution in kind for cash payments. Taxes in the counties were generally collected in articles of prime necessity. Although the situation became very critical in Texas, it never became necessary to resort to impressments or requisitions as it did in some other states.

Local and state appropriations and taxes did not solve the problem. Dishonesty on the part of officials and fraudulent claims by many families not really in need unquestionably siphoned off much money, but this was not the real trouble. There just was not enough goods to go around. Large quantities of the available supplies were taken by the Confederate agents collecting the tax in kind.<sup>11</sup> There was not enough goods to meet both the national and state needs, and the agents of the former took the disproportionate share. Increased taxes and appropriations did not solve the problem. Goods merely fell into the hands of speculators as prices rose, and some states tried to meet this by impressing goods. In Texas the legislature eventually shifted over to a distribution in kind in an effort to solve the problem, but actually its solution was beyond the power of the legislature to handle regardless of what measures might have been taken.

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<sup>11</sup> The tax in kind is described in John Schwab, *The Confederate States of America*, New York, 1904, 292–293, 298–299, 301–302.

## Book Reviews

*On the Nature of History.* By James C. Malin. Distributed by the Author, Lawrence, Kansas, 1954. Pp. vii, 290. \$3.00.

*Action on History.* By Lionel Kochan. André Deutsch, London, 1954. Pp. 185. \$3.00.

Professor Malin, of the University of Kansas, gives his lithoprinted book the accurate subtitle "Essays about history and dissidence," for this little volume is, in the main, a collection of essays in which the author offers vigorous, almost violent, expression to his disagreement with the historical approach of many historians of this generation. Five of the essays concentrate on the author's interest in this subject: "On the nature of history," "History in relation to the social thought of P. W. Bridgman," "History in relation to aspects of field theory," "Historians and geography" and "The problem of conservative and liberal traditions in the historiography of the United States: A plea for objectivity in history." Three essays deal with problems of special academic interest to the author. "From Missouri to Kansas: The case of H. Miles Moore 1852-1855" traces in fascinating detail Moore's political transformation in three years' time from a forceful proslavery Missourian to a free-state leader in Leavenworth, Kansas. "The nature of the American Civil War: The verdict of three Kansas democrats" presents, as a neglected hero, Samuel Medary who served as Governor of the Kansas Territory from 1858 to 1860, resigning from that office upon the news of Lincoln's election. Following his resignation, Medary founded a newspaper, "*The Crisis*," where he argued, correctly according to Malin, that the approaching conflict was not irrepressible and that the Union's continuing solidarity did not depend upon the Federal Government's encroachment upon the inviolate sovereignty of each State. In contrast to Medary, Malin sorrowfully offers the careers of Benjamin F. Stringfellow and Samuel D. Lecompte who, in the immediate post-Civil War days, accepted the new order and deserted the state rights democrats to support, on the grounds of political expediency "the national unitary state" and Grant for President. In "The Wirt Case" the Kansas historian, in great anger, defends the memory of William A. Wirt (1874-1938), the famous Superintendent of Schools at Gary, Indiana, who in 1934 aroused a congressional and national storm when he attacked the New Deal Administration as the naive victim of a conspiratorial minority which was methodically planning the destruction of the American political and social order.

Of all the essays in this collection, the two on Kansas history are the best. The poorest papers are those attempting to discuss the canons of current historical practice. In these essays Professor Malin fails in that no idea is ever developed in thoroughness and in that, despite his impassioned

plea for objectivity, he seems incapable of keeping his own subjective views under reasonable restraint. A deplorable example of this is his evaluation of Vernon L. Parrington's *Main Currents of American Thought*, of which he says, "It belongs to the same class as Hitler's *Mein Kampf* in debasing history to the level of vicious propaganda in support of a social program being imposed upon a nation." The body of calm, serious literature depicting the limitations of Parrington's work is in striking contrast to Malin's intemperate and choleric criticism and points up the essential weakness of Malin's book, its complete lack of balance.

In his lifetime Lord Acton was a far more famous dissenter than Professor Malin. In Acton's case, the exquisite quality of his historical dissidence has earned him a continuing place in literature on the art of history. The present study endeavors to give clear expression to Acton's underlying historical attitude, taking the critical viewpoint that Acton's inner approach to history is the abiding feature of his work rather than his response to any particular historical period or personality. In his examination, the author draws heavily upon the now increasingly sifted notebooks of Acton in the University Library at Cambridge.

Kochan considers Acton's historical work as having been refracted through a unique prism of five faces. The first face is identified as Acton's great "sympathy" for the individuality of every epoch in history approached on its own terms. The second face is depicted as Acton's strict requirement that the historian discipline himself to possess an "external vision," the ability to view men and events from a moral position elevated by its conception of man. The third side of the prism through which Acton viewed history reflected his consciousness that in each historical moment there are constant elements, the irreducible forces at play in every historical situation. From this angle Acton stressed the contemporaneity of history, revealed by such phenomena as the problem of power which is intrinsic to every historical plot. The eternal recurrence of the great themes in history did not, according to Kochan, make Acton a pessimist, for the fourth face of his prism reflected an historical world in which progress is a real possibility grounded in "the superiority of ethical motives over physical, of man over nature." The fifth face of Acton's prism reflects his insight into the task of the historian to teach and guide, moving always in this assignment from the real world toward the ideal in an analogous manner to the quest of the philosopher as conceived by Plato.

The result of Kochan's subtle approach to Acton is that, by the quality of his own historical imagination, he gives to Acton's basic historical thought a sense of completeness which was lacking from the historian's life-time of uncompleted work. To those receptive to Acton's charm as a man and as a historian, this book will be received as the best of the recent studies on him

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*Michigan In Four Centuries.* By F. Clever Bald. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1954. Pp. xiii, 498.

This is the first production sponsored by the John M. Munson Michigan History Fund, administered by the Michigan Historical Commission. As is stated in the foreword, the bequest was made to publish "a history of the state and a history of education in Michigan." Members of the Commission have sought to offer "a history which would be as sound, complete and unbiased as human nature will permit, . . . directed to the adult as well as to youthful residents of the state." Indubitably this is a worthwhile objective, and one might well hesitate to offer any criticism of the results of such sincere effort.

By eliminating footnotes and reserving the mention of sources to a list of acknowledgments (pp. 481-494) the author succeeds in avoiding irksome monotony. The select list of books (pp. 477-481) will also supply the more avid reader with ample references. Moreover, the vocabulary has been "adjusted to the high school level," and some "chapters were tested" in classrooms. Such appeal to youthful readers justifies the inclusion of paleontology, geology, and prehistory. Besides offering a hint of the natural resources, these subjects stimulate interest by being linked to the present. These chapters are exceptionally well done.

Part II, a summary of the French and British episode, fully measures up to the Commission's ideal. It gives a complete yet concise account of the period in a lucid, lively style. Perhaps one with previous knowledge of the era might question the appraisal of a few characters, but such objection is readily overridden by the interest awakened.

In Part III there seems to be an attempt to eulogize. The memorandum of the United States surveyor general, Tiffin, is classified as "libel." Undoubtedly it was an "unfavorable report" and gave Michigan such "a bad reputation" that settlement in the southeastern sector was delayed. However, this criticism serves to enhance the consequent activities of Governor Cass. It would seem to be more than mere coincidence that evils of a situation are repeatedly deferred until they can be introduced as laudatory reforms. Since the book is intended to contribute to the formation of good citizenship, perhaps it is best to use this expedient rather than to excoriate a vice.

"Completeness" which is listed as a feature of this volume, is pursued to such an extent as to be almost exhaustive. In fact, the numerous listings of participants, especially in phases of industrial expansion, produce a crowding and a change of style in the latter half of the book. There are also several distracting elements which make a perusal somewhat laborious. *First*, almost exact duplication of previously expressed ideas, e.g., "A new state institution of higher learning, the Michigan Mining School, was established in 1886 at Houghton, in recognition of the need for trained mining engineers," (p. 308); "In 1886 the state opened a new institution of higher learning, the Michigan Mining School at Houghton in the Upper Peninsula" (p. 319). *Second*, very short paragraphs on diverse topics. This may be an attempt to imitate a journalistic style, but coherence is somewhat disturbed. Thus the same page (319) has seven paragraphs treating of labor, railroads, public schools, Michigan Mining School, public utilities, home architecture,



and the Republican party. The sentence quoted above constitutes one paragraph. *Third*, rhetorical unity of some grammatically correct sentences is slightly strained, e.g., "In Kalamazoo, Dr. William E. Upjohn began manufacturing pharmaceuticals, and the production of paper was becoming important." In themselves these are not serious defects, but their cumulative effect is annoying. Education is the only field that lacks a "complete" treatment. The limited space allotted to its treatment after 1870 is restricted to "public" institutions.

A. F. KUHN

University of Detroit

*The History of St. Meinrad Archabbey.* By Albert Kleber, O.S.B., St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1954. Pp. xii, 540. \$7.50.

St. Meinrad is a Benedictine abbey in Spencer County, Indiana. There for a century a family of monks have prayed and labored in a quiet seclusion traditional of the followers of St. Benedict. Its members have gone forth to administer parishes in Southern Indiana, to conduct missions among the Indians of the Northwest, and to establish new Benedictine foundations. The seminary has educated over seventeen hundred priests for various dioceses, among whom are twelve Bishops and one Archbishop. Of these accomplishments little was written, but with the event of St. Meinrad's centennial Father Kleber has published a needed history of the institution.

The author gathered his material from original sources, almost exclusively from the Abbey archives, and supplemented it with his personal experiences of sixty-two years as a Benedictine of St. Meinrad. He writes with surprising candor of the virtues and faults of the pioneers and founders of the abbey. He presents an informative account of the internal operations of a Benedictine monastery amplified with anecdotes, domestic affairs, and even legends. Father Kleber used good judgment in selecting quotations that allow the outsider an opportunity to know otherwise unobtainable documents. From the collection of illustrations, one may follow the Abbey's history in pictures.

In 1852, Father Joseph Kundek, agent for his Bishop Maurice de St. Palais of Vincennes, induced Abbot Henry Schmid at the Swiss monastery of Maria Einsiedeln to establish a daughter foundation in Indiana. Two "explorers," Fathers Ulrich Christen and Bede O'Connor, arrived in America the following year, decided on the site, and inaugurated the new mission house in March 1854, under the name and patronage of St. Meinrad, a ninth century Swiss Benedictine hermit and martyr.

The first years were so filled with discouragement that abandonment of the project was discussed continually. The unpromising situation was due to a number of factors, as unqualified superiors and rule by an Abbot in Switzerland. A turn for the better occurred with the appointment of Father Martin Marty as Visitor and Administrator. His vigorous direction

of the monastery restored confidence in the undertaking. The monastic school improved and parishes under the monks expanded.

By 1870, the daughter foundation of Maria Einsiedeln showed strength sufficient to seek independence; thus St. Meinrad became, in that year, an independent monastery with Father Martin Marty as the first Abbot. He held office until election of Fintan Mundwiler in 1880, who in turn was succeeded by Athansius Schmitt, 1898-1932. The present Abbot Ignatius Esser was chosen in 1932. Within the framework of the several Abbots, the history of the monastery continues, telling of building and re-building of the monastery, development of the Minor and Major Seminaries and establishment of new foundations. Under Abbot Fintan, St. Meinrad became head of the Swiss-American Congregation of Benedictines. It advanced to the honorary position of an Archabbey in 1953.

While in general the printing of this Book was well done, it is marred by a number of typographical errors that should have been detected by the proof reader.

It is hoped that the *History of St. Meinrad Archabbey* marks the auspicious beginning of studies concerned with American Benedictines. Perhaps a fitting sequel to this work would be the life and labors of Bishop Martin Marty.

The book should be of interest to the priest alumni, historians of American Church History and even students of American social and cultural history will find value and profit in reading it. While it is concerned primarily with the story of an institution, the account gives interesting side-lights on the nature of life in these United States, even in a monastery.

JOHN MENTAG

Loyola University, Chicago

*History of the Irish in Wisconsin in the Nineteenth Century.* By Sister M. Justille McDonald. Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1954. Pp. 324.

Marcus Lee Hansen in his book, *The Immigrant in American History*, points out that the immigrant as a significant force in the development of America has not as yet been fully investigated, and because of this, perhaps not accurately evaluated. The accomplishment of this task, Professor Hansen continues, requires the careful study of each nationality group in the United States, their distribution, and their ultimate influence upon the area in which they settled. The final evaluation in the last analysis awaits the publication of many studies by many historians in many areas, each investigating the local sources in order that the total picture be more complete and accurate.

It is in such a frame of reference that the doctoral dissertation of Sister M. Justille McDonald must be examined. Here is a specialized study in

local history which should be of interest to the student of American immigration. It is worthy of note for a number of reasons. First, because the author presents us with a readable, balanced, and temperate analysis of her subject on the basis of an exhaustive study of historical sources in Wisconsin and elsewhere. Secondly, because the author has delved deeply into a specialized form of local history without succumbing to the major pitfall of that type of investigation—antiquarianism. There is little here to satisfy the tastes of the genealogists or antiquarian as the author warns the reader in her Preface.

In treating her subject Sister M. Justille divides her work along the traditional lines of investigation. Beginning with an analysis of Irish emigration to America and their subsequent migration into the mid-West and Wisconsin, the author sets the stage upon which all future activity is predicated. Sister then proceeds to study the distribution and occupation of the Irish immigrant as he moved gradually into this rapidly developing area. With the marked decline in the flow of Irish immigrants into the state following the 1860's the study turns to an analysis of the Irish as they engaged in political, social, and religious activities in their new home. This latter portion of the dissertation, which occupies approximately half the book, shows the interests and objectives of the Irish as an immigrant group, acting for the most part as a single unit. In this half of her study Sister M. Justille is careful not to claim too much for the Irish and recognizes the greater influence of other immigrant groups, particularly the German, in the development of Wisconsin.

This recognition of the greater impact of other nationality groups upon the state's development leaves the author open to some criticism as her approach to the subject. Unlike the Irish Immigrant in many eastern states, the Irish in Wisconsin are of subordinate importance in the growth of that state during the nineteenth century. This fact does not mean that they are unworthy of investigation; but rather, that the treatment of such a less-significant immigrant group could be made historically more meaningful by a study which encompassed a larger geographical area. The story of the Irish in Wisconsin is not radically different from the history of the Irish immigrant in the neighboring states of the mid-West. Could not their influence in the mid-West—and in American History—be judged more accurately if artificial (in terms of any migratory movement into a given area) state boundaries were abandoned? The intensity of the author's research is commendable; but, even in a doctoral dissertation, there is a point of diminishing returns. Sister M. Justille has demonstrated much ability in her handling of this difficult subject; it seems unfortunate that she did not utilize it for a more meaningful local study of Irish immigration.

JOHN J. REARDON

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*Champion of Reform Manuel Abad y Queipo.* By Lillian Estelle Fisher. Library Publishers, New York, 1955. Pp. xi, 314. \$6.

At long last this book has been published. Miss Fisher after her years of scholarly research and patient waiting to bring her findings to print has rewarded students of Spanish American history with an illuminating and mature study of Bishop Abad y Queipo and the period of the Mexican revolt from Spain. Very objectively and sympathetically she has woven a narrative almost completely from raw materials to present a clear record of a hitherto controversial figure. More, backed by her intimate knowledge of the times, she has brought forth a drama, almost a tragedy, whose hero is a distinguished prelate caught in the cross-currents of a great turning point in the history of nations. The figure of a forlorn, religious man, struggling for some secure harbor of political thought in the ebb tide of absolutism and the flood tide of radicalism, is remarkably vivid.

The life of Abad y Queipo, 1751-1825, spanned the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars, and the emancipation of Americans from European motherlands. The natural son of a noble of the house of Abad in the Granadas Manuel studied at the University of Salamanca, was ordained priest, and was taken by the Archbishop of Guatemala to his New World See. In Guatemala, Abad y Queipo served well for five years until health required a change of climate. He went with the Bishop of Michoacán in 1805 to the salubrious city of Valladolid in New Spain. There, while employed chiefly in administrative tasks, his troubles began.

The chapters describing the prelate's position in relation to the people, the Church, and the government are done in fine detail from documents. First, he tried quietly to obtain from Rome papers legitimizing his birth so that his influence among the people might not be impaired and his promotions might not be stopped. The word got abroad to his defamation. Yet, his religious principles and his pastoral work were beyond reproach. His loyalty to the Church and to the clergy, despite some unworthy men, was outstanding; he was a friend of the people, whether Spanish born, Creole, mestizo or Indian; he was a notable promoter of public works and public welfare. Even though, backed by loyal followers, he journeyed via the United States and had the stigma of his birth removed in Spain and his appointment as bishop-elect settled, still enemies pursued him to his dying day.

His political views are clearly expressed in his many writings. He was indeed a champion of reform of the Spanish government. He was against armed revolt, and in this position of reform and redress he was similar to John Adams. He proclaimed loudly against Napoleon and for a Ferdinand VII rather than for the Spanish Cortes; he vainly hoped that a non-absolutist Ferdinand VII might emerge. He was against the insurgents Hidalgo and Morelos for their militarism and lack of practical solutions to the many abuses. He held that sovereignty resided in the mass of people and through them in the State. But he argued that the Spanish State was not dissolved simply because Napoleon had taken the Peninsula and that the Americans were not automatically freed by the fact. His stand, of course, as a liberal and a conservative, and his efforts to prevent the revolu-

tions, well told by Miss Fisher in Chapters IX and X, got him into trouble with the insurgents, while some progressive cities named him their representative to the Spanish Cortes.

When Napoleon was put away in 1814 Ferdinand VII called him to Spain, where he had his appointment to the See of Michoacán first confirmed then done away with by the restored absolutist. Next, Abad y Queipo fell under the ban of the Inquisition. He was arrested in 1816 and confined as the trial dragged on through innumerable legalities. Protests came from Mexico, protests came from the prelate regarding the injustice of the procedures. Freed at first on earlier charges he was then honorably restored to his bishopric, but not allowed to return to it. The Bishop of Michoacán lived in Madrid until the fateful revolt of 1820 against Ferdinand VII's absolutism. The King allowed him to be a deputy at the congress, but when the absolutism reaction set in in 1823 had him arrested as disloyal and sent over the mountains to the monastery at Sisla where he died on September 15, 1825.

Miss Fisher concludes that Abad y Queipo was "a conscientious, cultured, and public-spirited churchman, a very loyal subject, yet a severe critic of all phases of administration in the decaying Spanish monarchy. He was also a progressive reformer, economist, and statesman working to uphold the tottering monarchy and for his beloved adopted country—New Spain." Her conclusions are amply justified by the weight of documentary evidence which she has so painstakingly gathered and assessed. The work may be considered as definitive.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

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## Notes and Comments

### *There's a Glory in the Name "Ohio"*

Speak the word "Ohio" with reverence. It is a consecrated name. True, it was not always so; nor is it such today where our Christianity has not prevailed. Ohio soldiers are writing home from Japan of their wonderment when they hear, while walking the streets of Tokio or Kyoto, Japanese gentlemen saluting one another, saying "Ohio" very distinctly. They say "Ohio Gozaimasu" but the first word is unmistakably the name of our state. When asked for an explanation, the reply is that, like the American "Hello" it is meaningless; it is just an ancient friendly greeting; how it originated no one seems to know. Certainly this old pagan "Ohio" carries no consecration.

The term was equally pagan here in America until Saint Isaac Jogues baptized it. He found the word wandering as a waif along the banks of the rivers of New York State where he was a captive of the cruel Iroquois three hundred years ago. Savage as they were, these Indians had not lost all sense of the beautiful and whenever they came upon a scene of fascinating waterscape their delight broke out into an exclamation that Father Jogues wrote down as "O-io." (What he actually wrote was "O-io-gue," which means "at the beautiful river.") There it is; philologists recognize this as the origin, "in written language" by a man whose name we know, of the name of one of America's great commonwealths. A Providence has brought the word, across the mountains to a permanent fastness, equally appropriately described as the "Beautiful River," O-io. Need it be pointed out that this writing, done by mangled hands that were before the next snowfall to be frozen in a martyr's death, was a baptism in blood, a singular consecration.

The originator of this claim for Father Jogues is not, as might be thought, some devotee of his, as John Gilmary Shea; or some enthusiast over the missions, as the Protestant Bishop of California, William Ingraham Kip, but the cold meticulously accurate author of the *Wilderness Trail*, Mr. Charles A. Hanna. His work is a heavily documented account of the spearhead of white civilization into the northern Trans-Alleghenies. Mr. Hanna first evidences for us that the Iroquoian "io" means beautiful or fine. Father

Potier, whose glossary of the Huron language was published by the Canadian government, gives the same definition. We stop to call attention to this agreement because the respectable *Ohio Archeological and Historical Review*, (XXIX, 456f) carried an article of more vehemence than argument that maintained that "Beautiful River" was exclusively a French not an Indian appellation.

The reference to Father Jogues (in the *Wilderness Trail* I, 293) reads as follows:

The word *Ohio* was formerly applied by the Iroquois to a number of other rivers besides the one that bears that name today, and it is significant that anciently it was usually written with the locative suffix *ge* or *gue*. Father Jogues, the French Jesuit martyr-missionary, wrote in 1646, *Oi-o-gue*, as the Huron-Iroquoian name of the Hudson River, given him at Sarachtoga, with the connection, *at* the river.

Hanna goes right on and adds:

"*Ohioge*" *at* the river; "*Obioge-son*," the length of the river, wrote Bruyas.

"Wrote Bruyas." Who was Bruyas? Twice in volume one and twice in volume two Hanna quotes Bruyas' definitions of Indian words, but with no further identification of the man. He has, however, pointed out the item that is pertinent to this study; namely that the *gue* attached to Iroquoian words merely means "at." It will be observed that Bruyas also inserts an "h" in Jogues' *Oi-o*, and there we have Ohio as so many millions of Americans have been writing it for three centuries without stopping to think why or when or by whom this particular combination of letters, rather than thousands of other groupings, came to be the designation of a great river and a great state.

Father James Bruyas, who wrote Ohio with an "h" (and who disposes of our difficulty about the annoying suffix *gue*) came to Canada in 1666 and from that date until his death in 1712 was probably the most conspicuous of all the Jesuit missionaries. Thomas Campbell, S.J., in his *Pioneer Priests* tells of his many distinctions; our only interest is in his writings. The references to him and his letters in the *Jesuit Relations* are interminable. His Mohawk Grammar has been printed by the University of the State of New York; his Mohawk Catechism was studied by Cotton Mather in Boston. But his Mohawk Roots, a sort of dictionary, remains in manuscript. It must have been here that Hanna found the items—our Ohio among them—that he adopts. As Bruyas' contribution had to be sought in a rare, and unpublished work, so, not Hanna's but our citation

above is from Jogues. Thwaites in his *Jesuit Relations* found only five letters of Jogues, and he has no definition of the word Ohio. Francis X. Talbot, S.J., in his *Saint Among Savages, The Life of Isaac Jogues* uses twenty-one letters of Jogues, who mentions Ohio several times and in one place gives its meaning: the "Beautiful River."

With Jogues and Bruyas, to make a perfect trilogy, Father Joseph de Bonnecamp, S.J., must be mentioned in connection with Ohio's genesis. Like Bruyas, he was filled with the spirit of Jogues when he volunteered for the perilous Celeron expedition that challenged both British and Indian attacks while circumnavigating, south, west, north and east of what is as near as possible the actual boundaries by water of the present state of Ohio. Father Bonnecamp's map of the journey appears in all the best illustrated histories of the state. Conspicuous among its several important features are the words "OHIO OU LA BELLE" written in large letters beginning near the site of the present Cincinnati and advancing against the downflow to the present Wheeling. In the *Journal of the American Philosophical Society* (new series IV, 369) we read: "it is to the Journals of Celeron and Bonnecamp that we owe our knowledge of this first recorded voyage down La Belle Rivière, and with this expedition of 1749 begins the authentic history of the Ohio River"; and, he might have added, of Ohio state.

No doubt Ohio's eight million religious-minded people and their friends, and especially the children in Ohio, will be gladdened, and the gaiety of their future celebrations made more endearing and lasting through the consciousness in many minds, down long ages, of this initial consecration of the name of their state, their home.

LAURENCE J. KENNY, S.J.

St. Louis University

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Indiana University Press last year published *The Cross and The Sword*, a translation by Robert Graves of Manuel de Jesús Galván's *Enriquillo*, "a novel of ruthlessness and intrigue when greed followed in the wake of Columbus and the Indian fought for survival." The original work of the Santo Domingo savant was published in part in 1879 and complete in 1882 in Spanish, while the edition used

in this translation is that of 1894. This is one of the UNESCO Collection of Representative Works: Latin American Series, published with the cooperation of the Organization of American States. Written in the spirit and after the pattern of our *Last of the Mohicans*, this Indianist story exhalts the noble Indian chief and illustrates the "Black Legend" of Spanish cruelty. Much lore of the sixteenth century West Indian scene is brought into the novel and almost every historical figure is set in place. Looming large is Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas. Some of the dialogue and descriptions are taken directly from historical documents. The translation is in highly polished and rather stilted English, but its literary qualities are apparent. The price is \$3.75.

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University of Minnesota Press this past February brought out *Red Scare, A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920*, by Robert K. Murray, in 337 pages including bibliography, source materials, and an index. Professor Murray of Pennsylvania State College has done an excellent work of planning his monograph and presenting the many and complex threads of his story in an interesting style. His introductory chapter sets the scene for the great fear of radiacism after World War I and his second chapter introduces the chief radicals. The body of the book, fourteen chapters, is a detailed summary of the hysteria in the country, leading to the formation of the Americanism societies in the face of intolerance, riots, bombings, strikes, federal and state raids, and arrests and trials of radicals. The last chapter is an analysis of the dangers of an hysteria caused by fears of communism. The Red Scare of that time persists in the thoughts of Americans of today who in most cases never heard of what happened in 1919-1920. There is far more danger at present from communism, but hysterical action is not recommended by Mr. Murray as a proper defense.

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The history of a newspaper generally is of local interest, but the story of *The Raleigh Register 1799-1863* as told by Robert Neal Elliott, Jr., deserves wide comment. The book is Volume 36 of The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, published under the direction of the Departments of History and Political

Science of the University of North Carolina. The book in the customary paper binding of the Studies is of 133 pages including a source bibliography and an index. Mr. Elliott makes his scholarly study a biography of the newspaper and its chief helmsmen the Gales, father and son, whose influence on national questions was widespread.

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The government of the Catholic Church in Milwaukee was in the hands of four prelates whose terms spanned the years between 1843 and 1930. Biographical sketches of three of these churchmen have been brought together in the recently published *Three Archbishops*, by The Reverend Benjamin J. Blied, Ph.D. The Archbishops are Michael Heiss who died in 1890, Frederick Katzer who died in 1903 and Sebastian Messmer. Father Bleid presents his subjects in an entertaining and understanding manner in the paper bound book of 160 pages, and he has not only estimated their achievement clearly in a brief compass but he has outlined a general history of the Church, particularly in its educational aspects, from the time of Wisconsin statehood to the beginning of the national depression. He has been rather careful too to avoid ruralizing his studies by indicating the significance of these churchmen in the national and international affairs.

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The story of the development of the oil industry in a locality, a state, or in a country has regularly appeared in print, but rarely with the scholarship and conciseness found in *Petroleum in Venezuela, A History*, by Edwin Lieuwen. This paper-bound volume of 160 pages was published last year by the University of California Press, taking its place on the shelf as Volume 47 of the University of California Publications in History. Running through this record of the petroleum developments that brought a backward Venezuela from rags to riches, at least as far as the national bank account is concerned, is the theme of exploitation by Juan Vicente Gómez, the President and chief concession distributor from 1909 to 1935.

This year the same University of California Publications has added Volume 48 to its list. This is *The Point Loma Community in California, 1897-1942, A Thosophist Experiment*, by Emmett A. Greenwalt. In eighteen chapters Mr. Greenwalt traces the origins



and objectives of the Theosophical Society from the time in 1877 when Madame Blavatsky became the vehicle whereby her god Isis unveiled himself long enough to urge the world to get rid of material science and Christianity, on through the building of the remarkable halls of the cult at Point Loma and their control by Katherine Tingley. The spectacular "by-products" of the community, music, dance, and drama, its pamphlets and books, its reform movements, each brought in support money, until the inevitable mismanagement set in which terminated the experiment of an agricultural Eden and an industrial paradise.

Both volumes are at editorial par, with indexes and bibliographies.

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The artistically illustrated *Texas Sketchbook*, revised edition, is being distributed by Humble Oil and Refining Company of Texas. The writer, F. T. Fields and the illustrator E. M. Schiwetz, give a fine example of visualizing the chief scenes of the major historical events in the life of Texas. The printer has aided the artist and narrator with a master's format, presenting the cover and a number of the Schiwetz paintings and drawings in color. There are some historical inaccuracies in the text, which will probably be overlooked by general readers.

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Texas was invaded by a Mexican force in 1842, captured San Antonio de Béxar and fifty-six citizens of the Lone Star Republic with their flag, and went home, all within the month's time allowed by Santa Anna who was far from the scene. The event was reported by the leader of the troops, Woll, and the report was published in Monterrey shortly after the conquering heroes returned. It has now been translated and edited by Joseph Milton Nance and is published in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* of April, 1955, as "Brigadier General Adrian Woll's Report of his Expedition into Texas in 1842". Why this "army" of 668 cavalry soldiers, 217 officers, and a band of thirty-seven musicians made the sortie is not clear. Amusing items, besides the proportion of three men to an officer, appear in the account, especially the scarcity of ammunition—not three musket balls per man! The significance of this move on the part of Santa Anna is not pointed out. Could it be

that by it the slippery mind of the dictator thought he had established a claim to Texas which led him in the following year to declare that if the United States annexed Texas the act would be a declaration of war?

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The state of the age old problem of Vespucci's voyage is brought up to date by Vicente A. Cerni in the October, 1954, number of *Estudios Americanos* the Revista de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, Sevilla, Spain. This review of the recent literature on Vespucci is timely and may be considered as commemorative of 1454, the year of the Florentine's birth. Dr. Cerni points out a program which may help to solve the problem, whether the voyage was made or not. In the November-December number of this periodical Jaime Delgado has an interesting study of "La Revolución Mejicana," placing its causes not so much in the political events involving President Woodrow Wilson with Huerta and Carranza, as in the poverty of the *peones*.

Another problem has been the final resting place of the bones of Columbus. A lengthy discussion of the evidence appears in the *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* X, 1953, recently published. The article "Los Restos de Cristóbal Colon en Sevilla," by Professor Manuel Giménez Fernández, backed by twenty pages of documents, concludes, pages 146 and 150, that Columbus died in Valladolid on June 20, 1508, and his bones were translated to the Crypt of the Chapel of Santa Ana de la Cartuja de las Cuevas outside Seville on April 11, 1509, where they remain to the present day. There is no evidence to show that the bones of the Admiral were moved to the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, but medical evidence seems to indicate clearly that the remains in the Cathedral are those of somebody else, possibly Bishop Alexandro Geraldini, second prelate of Santo Domingo.

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Usually attractive is the format of *Nebraska History* for March, 1955. The cover is a photograph of the spire of Chimney Rock and the article "Chimney Rock on the Oregon Trail" is happily illustrated with sketches of the landmark made by travelers from 1830 and 1874. Merrill J. Mattes, the author, concludes his study with a compilation of descriptions quoted directly from the writ-

ings of the early observers of the curiosity and with a long bibliography. The concluding pages of this number are devoted to the pioneer educator "Joseph G. Masters, 1873-1954." The appreciation is by his widow Helen Geneva Masters.

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The greater part of *West Virginia History*, April, 1955, is taken up with "Berkeley County in World War II," by Patricia W. Alger. How men and women of the County participated in the Military, on the home front, in industry, is an interesting story, and it is followed by lists and tables illustrating the fine contribution to the war effort.

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Alexander Hamilton is the subject of seven studies in *The William and Mary Quarterly* of April 1955. The editors have named this the Alexander Bicentennial Number. The titles of the studies are: "Life Portraits of Alexander Hamilton," well illustrated and described by Harry MacNeill Bland and Virginia W. Northcott; "Hamilton's Quarrel with Washington, 1781," by Broadus Mitchell, and "The Origins of the American Party System," by Joseph Charles, throw more light on the relations of Hamilton and Washington. "Hamilton on the Louisiana Purchase: A Newly Identified Editorial from the *New York Evening Post*," "A Note on Certain of Hamilton's Pseudonyms," and "What Was Hamilton's 'Favorite Song'," have the touch of the Editor. Concluding the symposium is the interesting question and answer, "Was Hamilton a Christian Statesman," by the Editor, Douglas Adair and Marvin Harvey.

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A confrere, a student of military aspects of the Confederacy, is rather enthusiastic about two short books published in late 1954. One is *Columbus, Georgia, in the Confederacy*, by Diffie William Standard, Head of the English Department of Tennessee Military Institute, published by the William-Frederick Press, New York, in a neat paper cover in seventy-seven pages including the bibliography. This is an example of the best historical method applied to a very limited area for a limited time. The book is not small in value because it is a picture of the social and industrial life of the Chat-

tahoochee River port during the Civil War which brings out more clearly the actual life and thinking of the people behind the lines than can be gathered from more general histories. The minute and detailed documents reveal surprisingly that the people of the port lived better, produced better, and supported the war effort better than has been thought. Columbus and the river boats were of great aid in the pre-railroad days and the Chattahoochee became a source of riches, since it was not cut off from commerce and industry. The book should be of interest to the soldiers at Fort Benning, the largest infantry camp in America, close to Columbus and in the heart of the region described.

The second book is a fine edition of *Stonewall Jackson and the Old Stonewall Brigade*, by John Esten Cooke, edited by Richard Barksdale Harwell, and published by University of Virginia Press for The Tracy W. McGregor Library. This is an edition of the first biography of Jackson and the only extensive account written before his death in battle. Valuable as a work of artistic printing and the many details of the hero's life, its real value to the historian lies in the view it gives of the emotional and idealistic mind of the Southern writer and reader. As a biography and polemic it symbolizes in Jackson the glory and indestructibility of the Southern cause. It reveals how people felt at the time rather than how they are made to feel by the organized propaganda of today. It was the positive approach to building their leaders into heroes, which is so much more difficult to achieve in the present era of criticism of national figures and debunking techniques. Cooke's biography runs for forty pages of beautiful typesetting and another forty pages are occupied with the editor's study of Cooke, a bibliography, and an index.

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January 1, 1955, the name of *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, was changed to *The Ohio Historical Quarterly*. The new format of the sixty-four year old magazine is entirely pleasing.

*The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for January 1955, under its new Editor, Joseph G. Tregle, of Loyola University, New Orleans, also adopted a bright new form. It is cheering to know that the back numbers from 1952 are being published and that the gap between volume XXXV and the present XXXVIII will be filled.